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Britain and Muslim India (London, 1963), *Some Problems of Research in Modern History* (Rawalpindi, 1966), *The Making of Pakistan* (London, 1967), *Ameer Ali: His Life and Work* (Lahore, 1968), *The Historical Background of Pakistan*, 1857-1947 (Karachi, 1970), *The All India Muslim Conference* (Karachi, 1972), *The Indian Khilafat Movement* (Karachi, 1972), *Britain and Pakistan* (Islamabad, 1974), *Party Politics in Pakistan*, 1947-1958 (Islamabad, 1976), and *The British in India: A Study in Imperialism* (Islamabad, 1976).

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PREFACE

Choudhary Rahmat Ali's role in the development of the idea of Pakistan is crucial. As a thinker he laid down and propounded certain principles which the All India Muslim League borrowed from him without acknowledgement. He argued for the two-nation theory with conviction and skill. He was the first to make a clear-cut demand for a separate and independent Muslim state in South Asia and to make out a persuasive case for it. He invented a beautiful name for the country of his dreams.

It is a pity that little is known about the life and work of this remarkable man whose devotion to his chosen task was unparalleled, who spent long years in exile, and who lies buried in the city where he studied, lived, worked and died.

I have tried to recover everything that Rahmat Ali published and have reproduced it in these two volumes. I hope soon to bring out a full-length study of his life and work based on these writings and his private papers. I shall be grateful if the readers inform me of any omission in this compilation.

My grateful thanks are due to the following persons for helping me in the task of tracing and acquiring the leaflets and pamphlets reproduced here: Miss Thelma Frost of Ecton, Northampton, England; Mrs. Teresa Macdonald of the Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge; Dr. Rafique Khan of the World Health Organization, Khartoum; Professor Richard L. Park of the University of Michigan; Mr. F.H. Stubbings, Librarian, Emmanuel College, Cambridge; Professor A.H. Syed of the University of Massachusetts, Amherst; Miss Mary Thatcher of the Centre of South Asian Studies, Cambridge; and Prof. Patrick Wilson of the University of California, Berkeley. I greatly appreciate the ready co-operation and free gifts received from the Director of Libraries, University of Texas, and the Superintendent, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi.

Islamabad, K.K. Aziz

7 November 1977.

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INTRODUCTION

Choudhary Rahmat Ali's early life is a closed book. He himself makes hardly any reference to it, except to mention his father's name and to state that it was between 1909 and 1915 that the future of the Indian Muslims became "the dominating passion of my life".[1] The bits and pieces of information we can gather from other sources only provide a series of glimpses into these years of his life.

There is no disagreement on his origins. He belonged to the countryside of Hoshiarpur District (now in the Indian Punjab), where he was born on 16 November 1897 in a small village called Mohar in the tahsil of Garhshankar. His family was Gujjar by caste and carried the prefix "choudhary" (that is how he spelt it) with its name. His father, Haji Choudhary Shah Muhammad, held some land whose income assured the family the comforts of a middle-class life. Shah Muhammad married twice. The first wife bore Rahmat Ali and one daughter, the second Muhammad Ali and two daughters. The second wife was so affectionate with Rahmat Ali and his sister that it was only after her death that Rahmat Ali came to know that she was his stepmother. All the sisters are now dead; and Muhammad Ali lives as a farmer in a village near Lyallpur on the Jhang Road. Shah Muhammad died after Rahmat Ali's departure for England.

Rahmat Ali received his early education in two small rural towns, Balachur in Hoshiarpur District and Rahon in Jullundher District. Then he joined the Anglo-Sabah High School in Jullundher City, probably, in 1911, and matriculated from there in 1914. For his higher education, he came to Lahore and joined the Islamia College in 1914, graduating from

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation* (Cambridge, 3rd. ed., 1947), p. 213.

it in 1919. During his stay at the College, he edited the students' journal, *The Crescent*, and in 1915 founded the Bazm-i-Shibli.

After graduation, he joined the Punjab University's Law College in Lahore, and attended classes from 1920 to 1923, but did not obtain any degree. From available vague indications, it appears that it was either during his legal studies or shortly after leaving the Law College that he worked for some time on the editorial staff of various newspapers and journals owned and run by Munshi Muhammad Din Fauq. Soon after that, he received an appointment as a House Master at Aitchison College —a public school of Lahore, specially established by the British for the education of the sons of the Punjab aristocracy, commonly known as Chiefs' College. During this period, he used to live in a two-storeyed house on Hall Road, behind Mai Lado's mosque. At the College, he came in contact with the children of the Mazari family, and through them, with the head of the Mazari tribe. As chance would have it, at this time, the Mazari estate became the subject of litigation; and Rahmat Ali was able to be of some help to the Mazaris by providing useful legal advice. When the Mazaris had won the case, and their title to the ancestral acres was confirmed and recognized by the court, Rahmat Ali received a handsome honorarium of Rs. 67,000 as an expression of appreciation for his services. As soon as this money became available, he decided to invest it in the pursuit of higher studies in England. His father did not like the idea of parting with his son; and it took Rahmat Ali several months to persuade Choudhary Shah Muhammad to let him go abroad. Finally, at the age of 33 years, he left India for England towards the end of 1930.

About the development of his thinking up to this time we know almost nothing but what he himself tells us, to which we shall shortly turn. Information on his academic career in the United Kingdom has also been confused by certain writers, like Halide Edib, who say that he took a degree from the University of Dublin. However, we know from information supplied by the University of Cambridge that Rahmat Ali entered Emmanuel College on 26 January 1931. He took the Law Tripos, Part II, in June 1932, and received his Bachelor's Degree on 29 April 1933. Later on, on 18 October 1940, he supplicated for and received the Master's Degree. Soon after his arrival in England, he had also joined the Inner Temple Inn, on 18 November 1930; and he was admitted to the Bar on 26 January 1943. Considering that he passed both university examinations in the third division and took over 12 years to be admitted to the Bar, it appears that he was not a particularly good scholar—a far from unusual phenomenon among outstanding personalities.

Rahmat Ali's first circular came out in January 1933; but it is difficult to believe that he had given no thought to the future of Indian Muslims during the previous years. He had been living in Lahore from 1915 to 1930, and must have been aware of the trend of Muslim thinking and conversant with the various proposals made to solve the Muslim problem. There is no direct evidence to show that he personally knew people like F.K. Khan Durrani, Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan and Muhammad Iqbal; but he must have read about their ideas and listened to their public speeches. Quite possibly he discussed current issues with his friends, of whom we have no written record.

His own first suggestion, according to him, was made in 1915 in the inaugural address he delivered before the Bazm-i-Shibli which he had established in the same year. This address advocated the establishment of a Muslim state in the north of India. The "North of India is Muslim", he declared, "and we will keep it Muslim. Not only that. We will make it a Muslim State. But this we can do only if and when we and our North cease to be Indian. For that is a pre-requisite to it. So the sooner we shed 'Indianism' the better for us all and for Islam." He tells us that "the immediate occasion for this statement was the negotiations which were then afoot between Hindoo and Muslim leaders for an understanding on the basis of the national unity of India, and which culminated in the perilous Lucknow Pact of 1916." And he goes on to say that "one of the immediate consequences of that statement was the severance of my connection with a revolutionary society of Hindoo and Muslim young 'intellectuals' most of whom supported the aim of the negotiations. In the discussions with them it became clear to me that we could not work together; for, apart from our opposition to Imperialism, our ideals differed." So he left them with these words: "Friends! If my views are unacceptable to you, we had better part. In doing that, let every one of us keep true to his pledge, to the ideals of revolution; let every one of us serve the cause of freedom according to his faith. You will go your way, and I will go my way. You work for your Indian revolution, but I will work for my Islamic revolution. At the end, we shall see who creates the most dynamic and creative revolution in India". Many years later, he felt that this episode had been a blessing because it "gave an exclusive, Islamic direction to my idealism—a direction which ultimately led to the Pak Plan, of which Pakistan is the first part".[1]

So far it has not been possible to trace the original of this inaugural address, nor has any contemporary witness come forward to confirm the

1. *Ibid.*, p. 214.

substance of Rahmat Ali's claim. On the other hand, none has denied or contradicted it from personal knowledge. The important point here is that there is nothing inherently improbable in it. In this period, and during the preceding years, several proposals had been made for solving the Hindu-Muslim problem; and one suggestion common to several proposed solutions was to separate the north from the rest of India and establish Muslim control there. Admittedly, this was a vague scheme, and it is not possible to determine the precise intentions of its authors. Was it to be a rearrangement of provincial boundaries with a view to the creation of a purely Muslim group of provinces in the north? Or, was it to be a clear division of India on geographic and religious grounds, so that the result would be the emergence of a Muslim State in the subcontinent? There is no answer to these questions; because those who suggested this solution did not go into details. What is significant from our present point of view is that such a scheme was in the air, and it was not difficult to develop it into what Rahmat Ali announced in 1915. F.K. Khan Durrani, whose college days coincided with those of Rahmat Ali, tells us that at that time Muslim students used to talk of a division of India and the creation of a Muslim state. Though this was no more than a dream, and no one, not even the students themselves, whose optimism knew no limits, gave any serious thought to it, yet the idea was there and might well have impelled Rahmat Ali to plead for a Muslim State in the north. On the other hand, it could also have been a process in the reverse direction: Rahmat Ali's own ideas and his inaugural address might have appealed to the youthful imagination of his contemporaries and set them thinking on separatist lines.

Whatever the facts of the case, and we can say that there is some circumstantial evidence to support Rahmat Ali's reference to his activities of 1915, the curious thing is his long silence on the issue after this date. If he felt so strongly about a separate Muslim entity that he went to the extent of founding a society and giving it the benefit of his thoughts, he should have continued his interest in the idea and spoken or written about it when he was living and teaching in Lahore. If he did so, we have no record of it. Was the Bazm-i-Shibli address a flash of inspiration which did not recur? Did he allow the idea to lose its way amid the myriad problems and preoccupations of eking out a middle-class living in a profession where money was a stranger? We have no means of knowing what happened to Rahmat Ali during this time; and unless we come across more information on his Lahore years, we must make do with the broken strand of his argument.

In this period of little information and fewer facts, the only clues to Rahmat Ali's thoughts are his retrospective comments on various proposals, put up between 1923 and 1930, for achieving Muslim control over parts of India. But it must be kept in mind that these observations were made much later, and might owe something to hindsight, though there is a thread of consistency running through them.

When Sardar Muhammad Gul Khan's testimony given before the North-West Frontier Enquiry Committee was released, it pleased Rahmat Ali to see that by making a demand for separation the Sardar had "repudiated all Muslim politicians and organizations working for the common nationhood of Muslims and Hindoos, asserted our distinct nationhood, and asked for a clear-cut division of India between Hindoos and Muslims". In an obvious dig at the Muslim League, he deplored that, though this demand had been made one year before Maulana Hasrat Mohani's attempt to achieve some security for the Muslims, and seven years before Iqbal's Allahabad address, and though this had been known to Muslim leaders at least since 1941, when Dr. Ambedkar mentioned it in his book, yet no Muslim writer had referred to it. "I do hope", he wrote, "this omission has not been due to any feeling that a reference to his demand may compromise their personal 'heroes' or discredit their pet theories about the evolution of the Muslim demand for the division of India. For that would be un-Islamic and unworthy of us Muslims, who are the standard-bearers of truth in the world".[1]

To Hasrat Mohani's proposals of 1924, Rahmat Ali gave his qualified approval. He noted that rather than advocating partition, this scheme proposed an Indian federation in which the Maulana's "states" would be nothing better than provinces. Without doubting Mohani's sincerity in hoping for a free Islam in a free federal India, he was convinced that such a federation "could not but fetter Islam". For this conclusion, he gave four reasons. First, the conversion of Muslim "provinces" into Muslim "states" could "not make any difference to our fundamental status". Secondly, "the creation of a federation of six Muslim states and sixteen Hindoo states could only perpetuate our subordinate position in India". Thirdly, it failed to acknowledge that the Indian Muslims constituted a separate nation: "the common nationhood of Hindoos and Muslims could only mean Hindoo nationhood for us Muslims". Finally, owing to the numerical preponderance of the Hindus, the composition of the supreme national government would be overwhelmingly Hindu. In spite of these "serious flaws", however, the proposal could claim three

1. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

advantages. In the first place, by rejecting dominion status in favour of complete independence, it had "demonstrated Muslim love for the freedom of all peoples of India and contributed to the development of political thought among our people". Second, by demanding a Hindu-Muslim basis for the Indian federation, it "damped Hindoo hopes of unlimited exclusive hegemony". Third, it had helped to convince certain Hindu politicians of the need to reconsider the Muslim problem from a completely new angle.[1]

The foremost among such Hindu politicians was Lala Lajpat Rai, who published his own solution of the Hindu-Muslim problem at the end of the same year. The solution envisaged an outright partition of the Indian subcontinent in which the Muslims would get the North-West Frontier Province, Western Punjab, Sind, Eastern Bengal, and other areas inhabited by "compact Muslim communities", which Rahmat Ali took to mean "at least Jammu and Kashmir and Malabar". This, to the Choudhary, implied "a fundamental change in the attitude of an influential section of Caste Hindoos". It was for the first time in the subcontinent's history that some Hindus had come out openly to endorse the idea of partition and "to admit the impossibility of Muslim absorption by them and the inevitability of the recognition by them of Muslim nationhood". More than that, "they had come to agree to divide India into Hindoo India and Muslim India, and to recognize Muslim sovereignty in Muslim strongholds". In spite of the exclusion of Eastern Punjab and Western Bengal from the areas allotted to the Muslims, Rahmat Ali believed that Lajpat Rai's scheme was "a decisive step in the right direction", and that, "had it been followed by an immediate demand for a more appropriate division of India, the history of India and of the Millat during the past quarter of a century would have been written differently". He could see why the Hindu politicians had rejected the scheme; their reasons were perfectly understandable. But what he failed to understand, and for which he demanded an explanation, was the failure of Muslim leadership to stake a claim directly after Lajpat Rai had indicated Hindu willingness to consider and perhaps concede such a demand.

Finding the Muslim silence incomprehensible, Rahmat Ali thought that Lajpat Rai's proposal nevertheless had serious repercussions in both camps. "In our case, it reinforced our old belief in the distinct entity of our people and our lands, refixed our eyes on our homelands, and sharpened our urge for the division of India. In the case of Caste Hindoos, it intensified their efforts to keep us confined in India, changed their old

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-217.

subtle appeals for 'Hindoo-Muslim Union' to new, stern demands for 'Hindoo-Muslim Unity', and turned their sophisticated talk of Hindoo-Muslim co-operation into sharp threats of coercing us into 'Indian Unity'—a Unity which could only mean our funeral." In consequence, "the tide of 'Indianism' began to flow faster after 1924; and, as time passed, it rose to flood level and swept all before it". Rahmat Ali concluded that, since Muslim leaders did nothing to check this current, they just looked at it as a cow looks at a passing train[1]—perhaps forgetting that, contrary to his assumption of an urge for division, at this time most Muslim leaders, including Jinnah, were still looking in other directions to find a solution that would safeguard the Muslim community in all parts of India.

It was only after the fiasco of the Nehru Report of 1928 and its aftermath that Iqbal gave his historic Presidential Address to the Allahabad session of the Muslim League. As several historians and journalists have tried to prove that Rahmat Ali's proposals amounted to no more than an exaggerated echo of Iqbal's 1930 suggestion, it is important to examine with care what Rahmat Ali writes about Iqbal's address.

At the outset, Rahmat Ali maintains that Iqbal was "specifically supporting the Muslim politicians' demand for [an] Indian Federation, comprising all the provinces of India, including our own". He also claims that Iqbal was using the word "state" not in the sense of a separate, sovereign state, but in that of "a big province within and as part of the proposed Indian Federation". Rahmat Ali compares the wording of the Nehru Report and Iqbal's reference to its rejection of his proposal, and discovers that, whereas the Report had declined to accept the scheme of an amalgamated north-western area on the ground that this would produce an "unwieldy province", Iqbal, in his address, had paraphrased this objection by saying that it would create "a very unwieldy state".

According to Rahmat Ali, Iqbal had, throughout his address, spoken of India as one country, of the Indians as one nation, and of the Muslims as one of the communities of that nation. His suggestion for the amalgamation of four Muslim provinces on the north-west was "limited in nature and restricted in range" in comparison to other suggestions made by Hindus and Muslims prior to 1930. Finally, his demand for an Indian federation, if conceded, would have "complicate[d] our problems and aggravate[d] our perils". Rahmat Ali based the last objection on his understanding of the political nature of federalism: "In Constitutional Law, federalism springs from the conception of the common nationality of

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 217-218.

a people. It is founded and built upon the voluntary and permanent renunciation of their distinct nationhood by all partners in favour of a common nationhood, which invariably means the nationhood of the major partner in a federation. This being the linch-pin of federalism, it is obvious that the Federal Constitution asked for involved our renunciation of Pak nationhood and our acceptance of Indian nationhood. In other words, it made our absorption by the Caste Hindoos a certainty, and its acceptance by us an act of self-immolation."

But Rahmat Ali did not believe that his objections to Iqbal's plan implied that it was completely useless. It had made "a profound contribution" to the Muslim cause. It had "re-inspired our people to think in terms of the consolidation of our nation, revived the issue of our future and riveted our gaze on our homelands in the north-west of 'India' ".

However, considering that, even so, Muslim politicians opposed the plan, and Iqbal himself repudiated it, Rahmat Ali concludes: "No wonder therefore that Iqbal participated in framing the official Federal Constitution for India, in which not only were our people treated as a minority community of the Indian nation, but also each of the provinces he had wished to see amalgamated was treated as a mere administrative district of the Country of India."[1]

Then, Rahmat Ali continues, came the Round Table Conferences where Muslim delegates joined Hindu delegates to help the British hammer out a federal arrangement for India in which all Indians would have been integrated as one people and one nation and the Indianization of the Muslims would have been completed with tragic finality. Rahmat Ali states that he witnessed this spectacle with "poignant anxiety". He met the Muslim delegates and tried to warn them of the outcome of the policy they were pursuing: "I knew that their action had obliterated the twelve centuries of our history, destroyed the very foundations of our heritage, and crippled all hopes of the fulfilment of our mission. I begged them to realize their responsibility before Allah and His Rasool, and to withdraw their demand for the Indian Federation, withhold their participation in framing the Indian Federal Constitution, and ask for a separate federation of our north-western homelands." He laments that he failed to convince them and to divert them from their perilous course: "There was no realization, no response."

Like all men whom events disappoint, Rahmat Ali then turned to hope: "I hoped against hope that at least some prominent Muslim, not connected with the delegates, would still disown them, denounce their

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 218-221, and especially second footnote on page 219.

inclusion in the Indian Federation, and declare for our distinct nationhood in our homelands." Once again his hopes were dupes, and his fears were not liars: "But time passed by, the Second Round Table Conference ended, and none came forward. Yet every day saw the federal fetters grow stronger and the possibility of our escape from them grow fainter. It was incredible to me that there was such a noble task and yet no one to do it! No patrician or politician to attempt it!"[1] He was in despair at seeing the Muslim delegates advancing deeper into what he considered a political quagmire of inestimable dangers, and at finding that they took no notice of his warning. He thought that if Muslims were to be pulled back from the brink of the disaster to which their leaders were taking them, he would have to do it by his own initiative and resources. "The feeling gripped me that, on the failure of them all, Allah had assigned that fateful task to me; that He commanded me to do it; that He wanted me to challenge the mighty, to oppose the Indian Federation, to propose the Islamic Federation . . . Once that feeling came, it possessed me; it governed my life; it directed my activities."[2]

The final conclusion was inevitable: "Inspired by the sense of a divine mission, I reviewed the situation most solemnly and came to the conclusion that it was now or never; that any further silence would be fatal. For that would mean our general acquiescence in the policies of our 'delegates'. More than that. It would mean our approval both of their renunciation of our nationhood in our homelands and of their demand for and acceptance of the Indian Federation. In that realization I decided to take immediate action to save our honour and existence, and to ensure the utlimate security and destiny of our nation in Pakistan and of our Millat in Dinia and its Dependencies."[3]

Feeling that the hour of action had arrived, Rahmat Ali fired the first shot of his campaign by issuing a declaration with the dramatic title of *Now or Never.*

Bearing the subtitle "Are We to Live or Perish for Ever?", the declaration was addressed to the world on behalf of the thirty million Muslims of north-west India. The homeland of these thirty million Muslims was defined in the first sentence as PAKSTAN, "by which we mean the five Northern units of India, viz., Punjab, North-West Frontier

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 223. The periods of suspension are in the original; I have not omitted any word here.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224.

Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan".[1] India was neither a country nor a nation: "It is, in fact, the designation of a State created for the first time in history by the British." The heterogeneity of its peoples was a proven fact. Next, he argued for the separate identity and character of the Muslims of the proposed Pakistan in words which Jinnah must have read and re-read with much care; for he repeated them unconsciously while propounding the two-nation theory in his extempore address in the 1940 Lahore session of the All-India Muslim League. "Our religion, culture, history, tradition, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage", said Rahmat Ali, "are basically and fundamentally different from those of the people living in the rest of India. The ideals which move our thirty million brethren-in-faith living in these Provinces to make the highest sacrifices are fundamentally different from those which inspire the Hindoos. These differences are not confined to the broad basic principles—far from it. They extend to the minutest details of our lives. We do not inter-dine; we do not inter-marry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress, are different."[2]

The declaration concluded with a ringing appeal to the forces and future of Islam. "We are face to face with a first-rate tragedy, the like of which has not been seen even in the long and eventful history of Islam. It is not the question of a sect or of a community going down; but it is the supreme problem which affects the destiny of the whole of Islam and the millions of human beings who, till quite recently, were the custodians of the glory of Islam in India and the defenders of its frontiers. We have a still greater future before us, if only our soul can be saved from the perpetual bondage of slavery forged in an All-India Federation. Let us make no mistake about it. The issue is now or never. Either we live or perish for ever. The future is ours only if we live up to our faith. It does not lie in the lap of the gods, but it rests in our own hands. We can make or mar it. The history of the last century is full of open warnings, and they are as plain as were ever given to any nation. Shall it be said of us that we ignored all these warnings and allowed our ancient heritage to perish in our own hands?"[3]

Rahmat Ali alone drafted this declaration; but in order to make it "representative", he began to look around for people who would sign it

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *et. al.*, *Now or Never* (Cambridge, 28 January 1933), p. 1, para. 1. This is a four-page leaflet printed on large-size paper. To make references clear, I give both the page and the paragraph numbers. Paragraphs running on to the next page are taken as belonging to the page on which they begin.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 2, para. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 4, para. 3.

along with him. This search did not prove easy; for, he said, "so firm was the grip of 'Indianism' on our young intellectuals at English Universities that it took me more than a month to find three young men in London, who, after reading and discussing the Declaration, offered to support and sign it".[1] None of the three co-signatories was a Cambridge man. Khan Muhammad Aslam Khan Khattak was at Oxford. Sahibzada Sheikh Muhammad Sadiq was reading for the bar at one of the Inns of Court in London. Khan Inayat Ullah Khan was studying engineering in England.[2]

The declaration was circulated with a covering letter signed by Rahmat Ali alone, dated 28 January 1933, and addressed from 3 Humberstone Road, Cambridge, where Rahmat Ali then lived. It requested the readers to acquaint Rahmat Ali with "your valuable opinion as to the proposed solution of this great Indian problem as explained herein".

Evidently the declaration was sent to all the delegates to the Round Table Conference; so that Dr. Ambedkar's statement that it was "never officially put forth"[3] is vague. It is difficult to judge from his reference whether he meant that the delegates did not put it on the conference table as a working paper or he thought that Rahmat Ali did not present it officially to the delegates or to the Conference. If the latter, it is meaningless, for Rahmat Ali was not putting it forth on behalf of any organization. G. Allana has a different version. According to him, "it appears" that, after Rahmat Ali and his friends had distributed the declaration among the delegates, they "followed it up by personally explaining their point of view to some delegates". This is quite possible. But, he goes on, "this lobbying resulted in the contents and the scheme propounded by them to come under discussion and investigation".[4] Where did this discussion take place? Who investigated the scheme? Allana has no more details to give and no sources to guide us. Possibly he, too, like I.H. Qureshi, is confusing the Conference with the Joint Select Committee. It was the latter in which some reference was made to Rahmat Ali's proposal during the interrogation of some of the witnesses who appeared on behalf of the All India Muslim League and the All India Muslim Conference. The same mistake has been made by Muhammad Anwar,

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation* (Cambridge, 3rd. ed. 1947), p. 227. This book is henceforth cited as *Pakistan*.
2. This contradicts the statement made by some writers that the declaration was issued by a group of Muslim students studying at Cambridge. It was issued from Cambridge, but not by Cambridge students.
3. B.R. Ambedkar, *Pakistan or Partition of India* (Calcutta, 1940), p. 5.
4. G. Allana, *Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: The Story of a Nation* (Karachi, 1967), p. 306.

who makes Sir Reginald Craddock inquire about the Pakistan scheme "at the conference table".[1]

One notable thing about the proposal contained in this declaration is its narrow scope. Like Iqbal and several other Muslims who had confined their interest to the Muslims of the north-west, Rahmat Ali, too, ignored Bengal. He clearly stated that there were 80 million Muslims in India, and his "Pakistan" would contain 30 million of them. But the significance of these figures seems to have escaped him. His scheme, expressly propounded in the name of Islam and with a view to saving the Muslims of India from Hindu rule, would still leave a clear majority of Indian Muslims in Hindu hands. It was only much later that he tried to rectify this omission by suggesting another separate state for Bengal and Assam.

Another remarkable feature of Rahmat Ali's demand is the unmistakable manner in which he proclaimed the Muslims to be a separate nation. None before him had announced this so clearly, so insistently and so rationally. When, later, the Muslim League came to advocate its own Pakistan plan, it could not think of any new arguments and was content to repeat and elaborate his points. That is a measure of Rahmat Ali's understanding, percipience and foresight. But he ignored logic in claiming a separate nationhood for the north-western Muslims on the basis of Islam and forgetting the Muslims of Bengal. Iqbal had also dismissed the Bengali Muslim from the horizon of his thought; but two points can be entered in his defence. He did not believe in the two-nation theory; on the contrary, he had set out to create an Indian nation and an Indian unity with his principle of internal harmony. He was also making a case for an Indian federation in which anyway Bengal would have been a Muslim-majority unit. Therefore he was not obliged to fight the battle of the Bengali Muslim. Rahmat Ali could not use this defence. He stood for a partition of India on the basis of a separate Muslim nationhood; and yet he excluded a majority of this nation from his view. No justification can be found for this.

The most notable thing in Rahmat Ali's declaration is the first appearance of the word "Pakstan". He gave this name to the sovereign Muslim state demanded on behalf of the Muslims of the five north-western units. It must be noted that here he spelt the word without an "i", transliterating from the Urdu to the Roman script without allowing for the pronunciation that follows the English spelling. In meaning,

1. Muhammad Anwar, "The Forgotten Hero: I", *Pakistan Times*, 23 March 1964.

origin, or terminology the two Roman script versions are the same; but it is of some historical importance to notice that the first time that the word was used, printed and proclaimed it was spelt "Pakstan", not "Pakistan".

According to some reports, Rahmat Ali had coined this word some months before the leaflet *Now or Never* was published.[1] This is probably true. He does not tell us how long he took in drafting this declaration or at what precise date he began to think about it. Since it took him more than a month to find his co-signatories, and allowing at least another two weeks for the printers, the actual writing should have been finished early in December 1932. That puts the writing of it in November, and the thinking about it a little earlier. So it is quite probable that the name of his projected state occurred to him, say, during August-October 1932. Whatever the exact time of this flash of inspiration, it seems that he kept the precious word secret from his friends; for none of those who knew him in England or worked with him have been able to put a date to the birth of the new name.

Rahmat Ali was conscious of the significance of his 1933 declaration: "This Declaration and this date will be memorable in history. For, the Declaration symbolized the proclamation of our freedom from the British-Bania domination; the release of our nation from the bonds of 'Minorityism', and the resumption by our Millat of her march towards her goal; and the date marked the birth-day of Pakistan, the death-day of India, and the dissolution-day of British Imperialism in India. Not only that. This Declaration on that date started an ideological revolution in the life of one-fifth of mankind living in India, a revolution the repercussions of which will be felt throughout Asia and the world".[2] He denied that the declaration failed to create an impression at the time of its appearance. He claimed that a glance at the press would show the "profound effect" it had. The Muslims hailed it as "a message of deliverance"; Muslim politicians condemned it as "only a student's scheme, chimerical and impractical"; the Hindus castigated it as "communalism at its worst"; and the British attacked it as "unrepresentative and irresponsible, and aiming at the revival of the Mughal Empire". This was hostility, but hardly indifference. It had made an impact that evoked reaction.[3]

1. Muhammad Anwar, *op. cit.*
2. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan*, p. 227.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

It is not necessary to share Rahmat Ali's enthusiastic optimism or to subscribe to the exaggerated glow of his words to realize the inherent significance of the declaration. It proclaimed the Muslims of north-west India as a separate nation. It declared a war against the concept of an Indian federation. It staked a claim to a sovereign and independent Muslim state in the north-west. It gave this state a name. On all these points Rahmat Ali was far in advance of his time. These aspirations and sentiments had been in the air for some years and had propelled the Muslim mind in a certain direction. But they had remained half-felt, half-uttered wishes. It was Rahmat Ali's achievement to draw all the threads together, to make a coherent philosophy of them, to expound the final idea in words which were at once rational and passionate, and to present the world with a new name for the state of freedom which his people would one day attain. Every idea is partly original and partly a result of prevailing concepts. To dismiss Rahmat Ali's contribution as nothing but the invention of a beautiful name is to damn history with malice.

The declaration contained in *Now or Never* was Rahmat Ali's single-handed achievement. An idea had come to his mind, and he had expressed it in his own style, uninspired by any mentor, unaided by any friend. But ideas alone are not enough to move this imperfect world. They may be individual; the efforts to propagate them are not. Men have in all ages banded themselves together to achieve their goals. A single mind provides the ideal; a group is necessary to fight for it.

Therefore, once Rahmat Ali had declared the truth as he saw it, he felt the need for arranging a co-operative effort to publicize and promote the ideal. He was not a politician and therefore in no position to take his message to the masses through political means. Nor could he, living in a foreign country as he was, found a new political party to advance his cause. He was a thinker, not an organizer; a man of ideas, not of deeds; a mere student with a pen in his hand, not a politician with public resources at his command. So he decided to establish a movement rather than a proper organization.

This was to be, in his words, "a centre of members to work for Pakistan, for the Pak Plan, and for the Pak Ideology".[1] Thus in 1933, he founded the Pakistan National Movement, and directly published an eight-page pamphlet, *What Does the Pakistan National Movement Stand For?*, propounding "the fundamentals of the political ideology" of the movement.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

He began by defining "Indianism" as the force which had dominated all the countries of South Asia and defeated the efforts of their peoples to improve their lot. This was a destructive power, victimizing men and nations, crippling religions and states, enslaving at least half of the continent of Asia. It was an irony of history that, in spite of its black record, its victims had always played into its hands, subordinating their heritages to its dominion, surrendering their destinies to its supremacy. Recent events had confirmed, not challenged, the absorptive power of "Indianism". With the coming of the British it had manifested itself in the establishment of the Indian National Congress. In this clever way it had designated all British possessions in South Asia as India, denied to the non-Indian nations the right to their own nationhood, and, by making pretentious claims, made peoples of this area appear to be Indians. The non-Indians had allowed themselves to be trapped in this cunning nomenclature, so much so that when they came to form their separate organizations they had attached the "preposterous prefix of All-India" to their names, e.g., All India Muslim League, All India Muslim Conference, All India Sikh Conference, All India Rajpoot Conference. This suggested that all these diverse peoples were Indians, and meant that, in succumbing to the temptation of using a high-sounding title, their leaders had fastened fetters of "Indianism" on themselves and handed over their lands and peoples to its political hegemony. Heartened by this, and encouraged by British imperialism, the apostles of "Indianism" had used every trick, from bribery to bullying, to play off the Muslims against the Sikhs, the Sikhs against the Rajpoots, the Rajpoots against the Marhattas, each non-Indian group against another. The latest move in this plan of perpetuating "Indianism" was the campaign for establishing an all-India federation. The federal device was chosen because, of all constitutional arrangements known to law, it alone could ensure the enslavement of the non-Indian peoples, extract a permanent renunciation of their claim to nationhood, and make them accept a common Indian nationality. This was the central idea underlying the proposal for an all-India federal constitution.[1]

The Pakistan National Movement was formed to fight against this federation, and it would do this by adhering to seven principles, which might be called its aims and objects. First, the Movement stood for "the *spiritual liberation* of the nations of South Asia from the *secular thraldom* of 'Indianism' ". Secondly, it stood for "the *cultural liberation* of the nations of South Asia from the *barbarian influence* of 'Indianism' ".

1. C. Rahmat Ali, *What Does the Pakistan National Movement Stand For?* (Cambridge, 1933), pp. 3-4.

Thirdly, it stood for "the *social liberation* of the nations of South Asia from the *caste tyranny* of 'Indianism' ". Fourthly, it stood for "the *economic liberation* of the nations of South Asia from the *impoverishing capitalism* of 'Indianism' ". Fifthly, it stood for "the *national liberation* of the peoples of South Asia from the *destructive domination* of 'Indianism' ". Sixthly, it stood for "the *inter-national consolidation* of the nations of South Asia against the *de-nationalizing dangers* of 'Indianism' ". Finally, it stood for "the creation of a *new order of 'Asianism'* to take the place of the *old order of 'Indianism'* in South Asia".

This catalogue of the aims of the Pakistan National Movement has the immense virtue of clarity, and tells us much about the working of Rahmat Ali's mind. No aspect of a nation's life was ignored. Cultural and economic autonomy was recognized as a vital characteristic of modern nationalism. The spiritual basis of a people's life was to be strengthened. The ultimate aim was to destroy the hegemony of Hinduism and eliminate all chances of its imperial resurgence. His outlook was, however, not limited to the narrow horizon of nationalism. He looked forward to the day when a supra-national spirit would take these nations into the broader field of an Asian comity inspired by mutual trust and common interests.

Till 1942, the Pakistan National Movement published all the pamphlets by Rahmat Ali from its Cambridge address, 16 Montague Road. Then in 1943 and 1944, a few pamphlets came out from the same address, but bore the names of different movements: the demand for Haideristan (an independent Hyderabad) was made by the Haideristan National Movement; that for Maplistan (for South Indian Muslims) by the Maplistan National Movement; that for Siddiqistan (for Muslims of central India) by the Siddiqistan National Movement; and so on. In the summer of 1944, Rahmat Ali founded a new movement, the All-Dinia Milli Movement, which published its first pamphlet on 10 June. A year later, came the Dinia Continental Movement. But in 1946 and 1947, two pamphlets again came out under the imprint of the old Pakistan National Movement. The first two editions of *Pakistan: My Faith, Fatherland, and Fraternity* were issued, in cyclostyled form, by the Pakistan National Movement in 1935 and 1939; but its third edition, dated June 1947, was printed and carried the name of a new organization as its publisher: the Pakistan National Liberation Movement.

There is little doubt, however, that the proliferation of movements was an outcome of Rahmat Ali's whims, and that their number and titles have no real significance. By whatever name they were called, all of them were the work of one man, and all their demands came from one

mind. Furthermore, there is no warrant to be misled by the word 'movement'. Rahmat Ali had a few friends, very few indeed, who helped him in various ways. The Pakistan National Movement seems to have had some kind of organization; for we know that it had a Supreme Council. Rahmat Ali was the founder-president of all the movements; and, in reality, he ran the whole show himself and every idea, suggestion, statement, leaflet, declaration, pamphlet or demand came from one individual. The organization and its variants notwithstanding, the man and the movement were literally the same thing.

So far, he had not succeeded in convincing anyone among those engaged in making a new constitution for India. The Round Table Conference had met thrice to determine the basic principles for an Indian federation; a white paper containing a summary of recommendations had come out; a Joint Select Committee of the two houses of Parliament had worked long hours and made its report; a bill for the Government of India had been drafted and was now, in 1935, before Parliament for final disposal. All this time, Rahmat Ali must have been meeting the men in authority, especially Muslim members of the Joint Select Committee and Muslim witnesses appearing before it, trying to warn them that the creation of a federation would be disastrous for Muslims. His expostulations came to nought; and the unanimity with which Muslim leaders told the Joint Select Committee that the "Pakistan" plan was a fantasy cherished by a student, hardly worth talking about, must have humiliated and discouraged Rahmat Ali. But, in the summer of 1935, he decided, to make one more effort; and of this, we have a written record.

On 8 July 1935, he addressed a letter running to four out-size pages to the members of the House of Lords, who were then considering the Government of India Bill. He may have sent a similar communication to the members of the House of Commons when the bill was before them; but of this, we have no record. In his letter to the peers of the realm, he appealed "on behalf of the people of Pakistan" for sympathy and support in their struggle against "the ruthless coercion of Pakistan into the proposed Indian Federation". He based the demand for Pakistan on the right of its people to a separate national existence, and argued in some detail for the two-nation theory. Repudiating the officially nominated Muslim delegates, who had come to London to make the "shameful surrender" of the right of their nation, Rahmat Ali demanded the creation of two federations in India, a Pakistan Federation and a Hindustan Federation, with equal status and identical legal positions. "The Indo-Pakistanian problem is not an inter-communal issue and will never be

solved on inter-communal lines. It is an international problem and, therefore, will submit itself to a permanent solution on that basis alone." A federation for all of India could be conjured up by the fiat of law, but could not be worked without the willing co-operation of the Pakistanians. The British Parliament could not impose a constitution unless it also imposed justice. The Pakistan National Movement would never accept the official dispensation as a permanent solution of the Indo-Pakistanian problem. "Nothing on earth will ever induce us to play the suicidal part allotted to us under the Indian Federal Scheme". The letter concluded with a prayer that the help of God would bless the efforts of the people of Pakistan, and that the inspiring example of their national heroes would sustain them.

Between 1935 and 1940, Rahmat Ali did not publish anything new, except a letter to *The Times*. This was the period in which Muslim India slowly but firmly turned towards partition, thus finally vindicating Rahmat Ali. This was also the period during which several observers of public affairs suggested alternatives to an Indian federation which, they claimed, could secure Muslim rights without splitting India. It is almost unbelievable that Rahmat Ali should have remained silent in this public debate that was creating a revolution in the minds of Indian Muslims. Possibly he wrote something that has yet to be discovered, or has been lost, or was not published.

Fortunately, one window into this dark room has been opened by a happy chance. A Turkish lady who visited India in the mid-'thirties has left us an account of the visit. In her book, which was published in London in 1937, she gives a ten-page description of Rahmat Ali's ideas, based on the notes of her interview with him. We are not told when the interview took place, but it must have been some time in 1935 or 1936. Rahmat Ali's replies to her questions make it clear that the meeting took place after the Government of India Act of 1935 had been passed. Thus this statement of his ideas came after the afore-cited letter to the peers.

It is relevant to point out here that Halide Edib, the Turkish visitor, was not an impartial observer of the Indian scene. Her sympathies lay with the Hindus, the Indian National Congress and the much-publicized gospel of Indian nationalism; probably a reflection of the newly acquired secularism of Turkey. She made no secret of her dislike for the Muslim League and other Muslim groups and leaders who refused to subscribe to the Congress ideology or share its plans for the future. Given this outlook, it is rather surprising to find that she took the trouble of seeking out Rahmat Ali in order to acquaint herself with his ideas, and then devoted

ten pages of her book to reproducing his answers almost *verbatim*. Whatever her attitude, we should be grateful for this opportunity to know something more of Rahmat Ali and his opinions at this time. Her questions touched many points, and Rahmat Ali's answers were comprehensive and, as always, clear and straightforward. At places he provided clarifications and elaborations which threw new light on his earlier statements.[1]

This spoken testament of Rahmat Ali is important, because it contains several ideas not to be found in his earlier writings, and which are hardly referred to in his later statements. For example, his short but straight answer that the Government of Pakistan would be based on the principles of democracy and socialism is of much significance, as much for its commission as for its omission. He wanted a socialist state at a time when even the Indian National Congress had not committed itself to socialism, when no Muslim leader was giving any thought to the economic issues of the future, and when even in Europe socialist states were scarce on the ground. Similarly, his emphasis on the weaknesses and dangers of a bureaucracy bred in the imperial stable put a sensitive finger on one of the most important problems of the future. But what is most striking is what he did not say: there is no mention of an Islamic state in his programme. In spite of his intense devotion to Islam, the Islamic basis of his two-nation theory, and his anxiety to save Islam from Hindu rule, he stood for a state which would be Muslim without being Islamic.

Another point that he made absolutely clear in this interview was the future he envisaged for the Muslims living outside Pakistan. Though he did not call it by that name, his theory of hostages foresaw what was to be repeated by many in later years. His explanation that Muslims who would be left behind in India would also gain by the creation of Pakistan, in so far as they would be participating in a cause that was in the interest of the entire *millat* and would be able to look to Pakistan as their moral anchor, is the only rational and realistic argument to justify the two-nation theory and still find it practical to surrender a substantial part of the Muslim nation.

What stands out in this declaration of Rahmat Ali is the richness of its argument. There is hardly any point in favour of a partition of India that he does not make. The case for Pakistan is argued in such detail that all the Muslim League statements of the years 1940-47 fail to go beyond repeating, elaborating and clarifying what he told Halide Edib.

1. Halide Edib, *Inside India* (London, 1937), pp. 352-362.

In some cases, the very words and phrases have been borrowed from him. This does not mean that the Muslim League leaders did not think; but it does mean that Rahmat Ali's mind was incredibly far-reaching. It also means that the debt the Muslim League leaders owed to him was never acknowledged.

In its issue of 5 December 1938, *The Times* of London had carried a special article entitled "Federation in India", in which Muslims were said to be "again toying" with the idea of the creation of a "Pakistan" in the Muslim-majority provinces. Rahmat Ali wrote a letter to the newspaper on the same day, alleging that the words used in the article were "somewhat misleading" in the sense that they gave "the impression to the reader that the 'idea' of creating a Pakistan has been intermittent and spasmodic". After pointing out that the idea had first been put forth in 1933, and had since then been consistently upheld by the Pakistan National Movement, he affirmed that "no Constitution, whether federal or unitary, can succeed which condemns our 80,000,000 Muslims to the status of a minority community, especially in the territories where, for centuries, we have been, and still are, the overwhelming majority of the population". He concluded by declaring that the Muslims living in north-western India "have never been 'Indian' in the true sense of the word; nor do we aspire to that title in the future".[1]

Shortly after this, on 12 December 1938, he wrote an elucidative letter to Choudhry Khaliquzzaman,[2] in which he explained his conception of the population basis on which Muslims of North-Western India would have a homeland in Pakistan, and the Muslims remaining in India would still retain the position of a viable minority. Quoting the 1931 census figures, he visualized that out of some 78 million Muslims in the subcontinent, constituting 22 per cent. of the total population of around 353 million, only about 29 million would be living in Pakistan with some 15 million non-Muslims; so that, on the basis of population, Muslim representation in the central legislature of India would only be reduced "from 22 per cent. to 16 per cent. at the lowest"—49 million out of a total of 307 million. Thus, at this time, Rahmat Ali had apparently still given no thought to a separate destiny for the Muslims of Bengal, within or outside Pakistan.[3]

1. C. Rahmat Ali, Letter to *The Times*, 7 December 1938. It was written on 5 December from a London address.
2. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore, 1961), p. 201, and Appendix VI.
3. One cannot help wondering how Rahmat Ali squared his two-nation theory with his idea of leaving well over 60 per cent. of the Muslim nation in India.

We next hear from Rahmat Ali in the spring of 1940. On 22 March, one day before the Lahore Resolution was moved at the Muslim League session, and when the session had already begun its deliberations, the Supreme Council of the Pakistan National Movement assembled in Karachi, perhaps its first meeting outside England. Rahmat Ali's address to the Council was later published as a pamphlet by the Movement, with the title of *The Millat of Islam and the Menace of "Indianism"*. The pamphlet bears no date, but the covering letter with which it was circulated has "15th August 1941" written in on the right-hand top corner below Rahmat Ali's Cambridge address. It is signed by M. Anwar, Member, Supreme Council, Pakistan National Movement.[1]

Defining the fundamental creed of the Movement, he declared, "It is that we are Muslim, not Hindoo; Pakistani, not Hindoostani; and Asian not 'Indian'; that, in retrospect, the 'India of today' is the 'South Asia of yesterday', but, in prospect, the sphere of the individual solidarity of several nations of tomorrow . . ." What, then, was the next step? Pakistan, Bengal and Usmanistan were "the political foundations of our heritage", which had to be saved to ensure the ultimate safety of the *millat*. The Pakistan demand, which had been put forward in 1933, was merely the first part of the Movement whose final objective was, and remained, the "permanent defence of our entire Millat against the persistent dangers of 'Indianism' ". The second part, now to be taken in hand, was to save Bengal and strengthen Usmanistan.

Bengal, with its hinterland of Assam, was to the Muslims the "Bang-i-Islam". Like Pakistan, it, too, had a Muslim majority and therefore was entitled to the exercise of the right to self-determination. For this purpose, a national movement would have to be started and built up on the soil of Bengal.

Usmanistan (Hyderabad, Deccan) was a princely state, not a part of British India. Yet it was "a part of our patrimony", and its future was inseparably bound up with that of the *millat*. The Muslims derived their right to Usmanistan "from those canons of International Law from which other nations deduce their claims to their domains". The people of Usmanistan should embark upon a "sustained constitutional struggle" for the *de facto* recognition of her *de jure* sovereignty. It was imperative for them to establish an organization to work to this end.

Pakistan, a Muslim Bengal and a sovereign Hyderabad would form three independent Muslim nations in South Asia. But the struggle for

1. The original of this letter is in my personal collection.

the achievement of their independence could not be left in separate, divided hands without weakening it. The national effort would have to be co-ordinated by creating an international organization. The only existing central organization, the All India Muslim League, had become "an anachronism, and a fatal one at that", because the *millat* had decided to sever its ties with India and seek its future in Asia. So the All India Muslim League would have to go and be replaced with "an alliance of the nations of Pakistan, Bengal, and Usmanistan".

Perhaps because it was a transcript of the spoken word, this address lacked the close reasoning and incisive clarity characteristic of everything Rahmat Ali wrote. There is too much of rhetoric here, as if he had been carried away by his own eloquence. Words supplant arguments. At places, his fondness for alliteration produces meaningless statements which spoil his case. There is little doubt that in both style and reasoning this is the worst pamphlet Rahmat Ali ever wrote.

The importance of this statement of his lies in its claims on behalf of Bengal and Hyderabad. Though Rahmat Ali maintains that they constituted the second step or stage of his programme and stemmed out of his original conception, there is no mention, direct or oblique, of Bengal or Hyderabad in his earlier declarations. The pamphlet, however, claims that he had given the name of "Bang-i-Islam" to Bengal and Assam in 1937. In a later pamphlet, of October 1942, he again asserts that he had announced this for the first time in 1937. It is possible that he had done so; but I have not come across any earlier pamphlet or other writing that makes any reference to "Bang-i-Islam". His *Pakistan*, which is supposed to contain all his important pamphlets and other writings, does not produce any declaration of 1937; nor does it print any pre-1940 map embodying "Bang-i-Islam".

Moreover, if he had the idea of "Bang-i-Islam" in mind, why did he make no mention of it in his explanatory letter to Khaliquzzaman and, on the contrary, argue that Muslims remaining in India would retain a population ratio of 16 per cent.?

Be that as it may, now his Pakistan plan of 1933 had become the first stage of a programme of which the second was his 1940 plan for a Bang-i-Islam and an Usmanistan. In 1942, he inaugurated what he called Parts III, IV, VI and VII of the Pak Plan; what was to be Part V, and what happened to it, is not mentioned in this or any other pamphlet. These parts of his Pak Plan were outlined in a pamphlet entitled *The Millat and the Mission: Seven Commandments of Destiny for the "Seventh" Continent of Dinia*, first published in October 1942. The note appended

to its printed edition of August 1944 (the only one available to us) says that the statement issued here is "in a slightly abridged form", which suggests that the earlier, fuller texts (issued in October 1942 and again in January 1943) were not printed but cyclostyled or reproduced in some other way.

The pamphlet opens with a list of seven commandments: avoid minorityism; avow nationalism; acquire proportional territory; consolidate the individual nations; co-ordinate them under a Pak Commonwealth of Nations; convert India into Dinia; and organize Dinia and its dependencies into a Pakasia. Rahmat Ali drew up a time-table for the realization of the formidable programme outlined in these seven commandments. The first stage, now the creation of not only Pakistan but also Bang-i-Islam and Usmanistan, would be achieved within fifteen years (i.e., by 1957). The seven national strongholds would come into existence before the end of the century. India's conversion into the continent of Dinia, and its incorporation in the orbit of Pakasia, would be effected "in far less time than we took to build our present heritage".

With this pamphlet, we reach the end of Rahmat Ali's plans. He has stretched the concept of Pakistan to its uttermost limits, and visualized the final shape of things to be no less than another Islamic sway over the Subcontinent. In essence, the entire scheme takes him to the conclusion drawn by F.K. Khan Durrani more than ten years eariler. Both wanted a re-enthronement of Islam in India: Durrani by outright conquest leading to an Islamic empire; Rahmat Ali by slow stages resulting in an Islamic orbit.

The scale of Rahmat Ali's plan is truly breathtaking. The dimensions of his thought are heroic, even if its flight is not sustained by any practical logic. Starting with the modest demand for self-determination in north-western India, he then includes the Bengali Muslim in his scheme, and proceeds to annex Hyderabad, Deccan, on grounds of its historic links with the earlier Mughal Empire and the Muslim background of its culture. Finding that this would still fail to free all Indian Muslims, he provides for seven national strongholds scattered throughout the Subcontinent, making a strange political patchwork out of India, a mosaic of several large and small sovereign entities, which would have added much colour to the map, but also many problems of gigantic proportions. Still not satisfied with a commonwealth of Islam containing ten Muslim nations in its bosom, he is swept to the ultimate end of his argument, and sees no alternative to a conversion of the whole of India

to Islam and the creation of a new Muslim Asia in which the old but never forgotten Islamic heritage would live again in yet greater splendour.

The impracticability of such grandiose schemes is as obvious as their far-fetched idealism. They took notice of neither the insuperable difficulties obstructing their realization, nor of the real state of the Muslim nation and its enervated capacities. They ignored the other two parties to the issue, the Hindus and the British, forgetting that they were and would ever be implacably opposed to all plans aimed at a revival of Islam. They paid no attention to the practical implications of the creation of small, landlocked states, which would be no more than tiny islets in the midst of surging Hindu waters. These and other weaknesses of his Pak Plan are indefensible. But before we reject his dream outright, let us remember that dreams put into action have a way of becoming reality—after all Pakistan, too, was once no more than a dream—according to some of its opponents an impossible dream of an impossible man. If politics is the art of the possible, constructive nationalism is the force that makes the impossible possible. To call Rahmat Ali unrealistic in approach is justified in the language of every-day life. But in that chapter of world history which nationalism writes with its blood we read of many impossibilities becoming realities by the force of circumstance and the wit of man.

If Rahmat Ali can be accused of being unrealistic, he also has the courage of his convictions. In following them, he did not hesitate to correct his mistakes when he discovered them. He could change his opinions as his thought developed, which shows an open mind. In the beginning, he was interested only in the north-west, and called its Muslims a nation. Then he discovered that there was a flaw in his two-nation theory, but became involved in advocating three Muslim states for one nation, probably because of geopolitical reasons. Finally, he recognized that it was either the entire Muslim population of India which constituted a separate nation or there was no separate Muslim identity in the Subcontinent. A part of the community, he felt, could not be a nation. So he extended the application of his theory to cover all Indian Muslims, and yet thought of a Pak commonwealth of ten Muslim nations. In so far as he brought Bengal into his plan, he was at one with the Muslim League. But soon he left this behind in the application of his theory of the Subcontinent's total *millat*. With complete consistency, he argued that, since the right to self-determination belonged to the nation as a whole, it was the entire nation which should exercise it, even if the result was impracticable. In doing this, he removed the major weakness

of Muslim League reasoning. The League propounded a two-nation theory, claimed to speak on behalf of the Muslim nation, and yet left a considerable portion of that nation in Hindu hands. In practical terms, Jinnah was right and there was no solution to this difficulty. But Rahmat Ali was not worried by impracticalities. Every individual member of the Muslim nation, he thought, must be saved from Hinduism, even if the effort led to impossible sovereignties, artificial frontiers and impracticable transfers of population. If the Muslims were a nation and were to be shielded from the Hindu onslaught, then no thought of difficulties should be allowed to cloud the effort of those who set out to fulfil the mission. However, two contradictions were left unresolved. First, if the Muslims of the Subcontinent were one nation, irrespective of ethnic, linguistic and geographical considerations, then on what basis could one justify splitting it into several sovereign states? Practical difficulties can no longer be used as an excuse, because you cannot both dismiss and use them as you please, without ruining your argument. Second, and even more fundamental, while the Islamic concept of *millat* is invoked, it is conveniently forgotten that this knows no boundaries. A separate Muslim nation of the Subcontinent mixes up the two antagonistic concepts of the Western nation-state and the Islamic *millat*, which if it ever again comes to be, must encompass the whole world of Islam. All the midway houses that Rahmat Ali has proposed suffer from these two internal contradictions. And if the art of the possible dictates compromise, then why reach beyond the practicable in the first instance?

Nevertheless, he was not unmindful of practical difficulties. It is important to remember that he prefaced his proposal for the seven Muslim national strongholds within India (the only really impracticable part of his scheme) with a proviso which few observers have cared to notice. After making the proposal, he wrote, "On the other hand, if the British and the Hindoos do not agree, it will at least put on record the right to nationhood of our 35 million brethren; register our protest against their 'Indianization'; improve our bargaining position in regard to Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan; and render a lasting service to the cause of freedom of all nations in the Continent".[1] Not a single one of his other demands carries such qualifications. He knew that this proposal would be turned down by the other parties, and that there was little chance of its realization. But, as he said, there were some advantages in making the claim. Above all, he had to make it in consistency with his theory of

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *The Millat and the Mission* (Cambridge, first issued October 1942, printed ed. August 1944), p. 12.

saving the entire millat. Moreover, as he himself points out, his suggestion could hardly be deemed absurd after the Sikhs, tiny in number as compared to the Muslims of Hindu regions, had demanded a state of their own in a part of the Punjab. Therefore, his scheme of small Muslim states spread throughout Hindu India was not quite as wild as it might look at first sight.

After completing his proposals for the revival of Indian Muslims in the *The Millat and the Mission*, Rahmat Ali did not make any changes in this grand scheme. He wrote a great deal after 1942, but added nothing to the plan. He had made up his mind, argued the case as best he could, and left it with the conviction that time and devoted effort would make the dream come true.

After the demand for a Pakistan, a Bangistan and an Osmanistan, the essence of his plan was the creation of seven Muslim strongholds in Hindu regions. So far, he had mentioned this without going into details. This he now proceeded to do in seven pamphlets, each devoted to one nation. All of them were published on the same day, 15 March 1943. In them, he proposed a Siddiqistan for the Muslims of the Central Provinces, a Faruqistan for those of Bihar and Orissa, a Haideristan for those of the United Provinces, a Muinistan for those of Rajistan, a Maplistan for those of South India, a Safiistan for those of Western Ceylon, and a Nasaristan for those of Eastern Ceylon. Since much of the argument in each case is the same, there is little advantage in examining every pamphlet. We shall just follow the general argument, taking up examples to clarify the main points or obtain some new insight into Rahmat Ali's mind.

Each pamphlet opens with a general appeal to the Muslims of that region and concludes with the hope that they would struggle for the creation of a separate state for themselves. In the middle, he tackles three questions of why, how and when the state was to be established, estimates the opposition which would try to frustrate the achievement of freedom, and prescribes ways and methods of dealing with this opposition.

The first pamphlet concerns itself with Siddiqistan and argues for the establishment of a separate state for the Muslims of central India. Why was such a state needed? Because the Muslims were in a minority and were scattered. Dispersal was an enemy of nations, and more dangerous than defeat. Defeat merely degraded, dispersal destroyed. The creation of Siddiqistan would be a step towards nullifying the proposed Indian federation, protecting the dispersed Muslim minority of central India and bringing about the "national reintegration" of all Muslim minorities in

Hindu regions. Then he turned to the question of how to create it. History showed that new countries had emerged in four ways: military conquest, spiritual conversion, mass colonization, and partition of an existing country. The first three methods being out of the question, only the application of the principle of partition could bring about the formation of Siddiqistan. Partition was justified on several grounds. It was in the immediate and ultimate interests of both the Muslim and the Hindu nation, because it would arise from the exercise of the right of self-determination. It was feasible and "practical politics", because it would not call "for any convulsive change in the existing order of things in Central India". It was favoured by historical experience: in every bi-national situation, it had solved age-old conflicts, averted civil wars and saved the peace of the world.

The answer to the third question of when to create Siddiqistan was "here and now". Directly or indirectly, every nation and country had "found its completion" in war. The present war (World War II) had thrown the entire arrangement of human affairs into the melting-pot. In due course, this would result in transforming communities, nations, countries, continents and civilizations. After the war, India could not remain unchanged, even if she should want to. Therefore, in view of the turn world affairs were taking and of the situation arising in the Subcontinent, the time for the creation of Siddiqistan was at hand.

This did not mean that there would be no difficulties in the way of its establishment. Active opposition was bound to come from the British and the Hindus. The imperialism of the first and the nationalism of the second would range themselves against the Muslim demand. Passive opposition might also be expected from the Muslim League. The way to frustrate this opposition was to adhere firmly to the fundamentals of the case for Siddiqistan; to work for it with single-minded devotion; and to stand by seven "basic facts of national life". First, to be a small nation was better and more honourable than to be no nation at all. Second, to have a small homeland was safer and more honourable than to have no homeland at all. Third, through such examples as Greece, Rome, Arabia and England, history taught us the lesson that the position and strength of a nation or a country did not depend on its size, but on its spirit. Fourth, Siddiqistan's viability would not be undermined by its small size: many a well-established nation in the world was smaller in area and population. Fifth, far from being alone in the world, Siddiqistan would stand together with nine other fraternal nations in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. Sixth, the argument that Hindus and Muslims were

too mixed up to be sorted out was disproved by the way in which, in Europe and Asia, several new nations and countries had been demarcated and made sovereign after the First World War. Seventh, the demand for Siddiqistan, instead of compromising the struggle for Pakistan and Bangistan, would actually help it. To miss this last opportunity to create Siddiqistan before the final reconstruction of India came about would be a tragedy in itself besides being a disservice to the cause of Pakistan and Bangistan.

With the aim of organizing the Muslims of central India and fighting for the creation of a separate state for them, Rahmat Ali announced that he was founding the Siddiqistan National Movement.[1]

Haideristan was the name Rahmat Ali gave to the Muslim state to be carved out in "Hindoostan", i.e., in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. All the arguments given in favour of Siddiqistan were repeated and, finally, the establishment of a Haideristan National Movement was announced. In this way, all the seven pamphlets argued the same case, each for a different region, and each announcing the formation of a separate National Movement to work for the establishment of a Muslim state in that area.

In addition to these seven national strongholds, claim was also laid to four sets of islands in the Indian Ocean on the grounds that they were populated by Muslims and held a strategic position for the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. As they carried Hindu names, these were changed to mark their transformation into Muslim lands. The claim related to the Laccadive Islands, named Alam Islands, and Maldive Islands, redesignated Ameen Islands, both on the western side of South India and Ceylon. On the eastern side, the Andaman Islands were given the name of Ashar Islands and the Nicobar Islands that of Balus Islands.[2] Rahmat Ali apparently did not think it necessary to argue the case for including these islands in his Pak Commonwealth: taken for granted as a part of it, they are always mentioned only in passing.

In the following year, Rahmat Ali announced the details of Part IV of his Pak Plan, which dealt with the establishment of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. This was the stage that was to come immediately after the ten Muslim nations had achieved their freedom. This scheme included the foundation of a new movement, the All-Dinia Milli

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *The Millat and Her Minorities: Foundation of Siddiqistan for Muslims of Central India* (Siddiqistan National Movement, Cambridge, 15 March 1943, reissued 5 February 1946).
2. This was repeated on page 5 of each of the above-mentioned seven pamphlets.

Movement. The new pamphlet unfolding the scheme was published in June 1944. After recapitulating the development of his Pakistan National Movement into a claim for ten Muslim states and four Muslim islands, Rahmat Ali pointed to the next destination as "the rise of our nations in our own lands and islands as members of the Millat, their co-ordination in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, and their dedication to the Mission of the Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies". This he called the "very heart and core of the Pak Plan".

In order to guard against the self-destructive tendency of a nationalism devoid of Islamic ideals, he said, it was necessary to convert India into Dinia. For Muslims, nationalism could not be an end in itself. It was a means to the revival of their *millat*, in the shape of a comity of nations, for the fulfilment of its mission. An organization was needed to ensure the simultaneous growth of the Muslim nations and the *millat* in the Continent of Dinia. It should be *milli* in character and founded, built and worked on the Pak concept of Dinianism. He named this organization the All-Dinia Milli Movement, and fixed its basis as "the equality of our ten national movements between movement and movement, and of our ten nations between nation and nation; the independence of each nation in its individual national homeland, and the supremacy of each national movement in its individual sphere; the common ideology of our national movements and nations, and their common loyalties to the cause of our Millat and her Mission in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies". The Movement aimed at three things. First, to claim for the *millat* "at least" ten nations, ten countries, six seas and four island groups. Second, to co-ordinate the ten national movements already founded to work together for the emergence of their individual states in their respective territorial spheres. And, third, "to animate these movements with the Pak concept of Dinianism, to organize their work for the establishment of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, and to foster their dedication to the sacred cause".[1]

Thus far, all his declarations, suggestions and plans had been directed towards the Muslims of India. Now convinced that the sympathy and support of others were also required, in May 1945, Rahmat Ali, for

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *The Millat and Her Ten Nations: Foundation of the All-Dinia Milli Movement* (All-Dinia Milli Movement, Cambridge, 10 June 1944). Rahmat Ali nowhere mentions the "six seas" he is here demanding. But they were shown on the map printed on the front cover of all pamphlets published since 1942. This map shows them as: the Pakian Sea on the coast of Sind; the Maplian Sea on the western coast of South India; the Safian Sea on the western coast of Ceylon; the Nasarian Sea on the eastern coast of Ceylon; the Osmanian Sea on the Karnatak coast; and the Bangian Sea on the coast of Bengal.

the first time, issued an appeal specifically addressed to the non-Muslim nations living in India, who, in his opinion, were being denationalized and "Indianized" by the British-Hindu alliance in the name of the myth that India was a country and all the peoples living in it were Indians. Announcing the founding of a new movement, the Dinia Continental Movement, he asked for the co-operation of the non-Muslims in the acceptance of the fact that the "country of India" was really "the Continent of Dinia", in the recognition of the truth that the non-Indian nations were distinct from the Indian nation, and in the demand for the creation of separate homelands for them. He argued that only the realization of this aim could bring them sovereign statehood and, at the same time, put an end to the Indo-British condominium.

The non-Muslim, non-Indian nations Rahmat Ali referred to were the Dravidians, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists, Parsis, and Depressed Classes. All these nations had one thing in common. They were the victims of the myth of Indianism, which made India the exclusive possession of Caste Hinduism, and which had been created by the Caste Hindus and buttressed by the British. This myth gave the Caste Hindus the opportunity of keeping the non-Indian nations as weak minorities, disintegrating them, and finally absorbing them into the Indian nation. It enabled the British imperial power to keep these nations intermingled with the Caste Hindus, to exploit the consequent conflict in the interest of its dominion over India, and to justify before the world the continued existence of its rule for the good of India. If the myth was not destroyed, it would certainly destroy all the non-Indian nations. The time was now ripe for challenging the myth and smashing it once for all. The destruction of the myth was an integral part of his plan. In fact, it was Part VI of the Pak Plan which dealt with the cause of the Continent of Dinia. He warned that the non-Indian, non-Muslim nations, being smaller in number than the Muslims, more Indianized in outlook, less conscious of the dangers inherent in the myth, and more exposed to its subtle and suppressive activities, stood to pay an impossible price for agreeing to continue as members of an Indian nation.

The myth was to be destroyed by believing in, proclaiming and publicizing two "supreme facts". The first was that the vast and varied land commonly called the country of India was "*geographically as well as historically*" a continent. The second was that the so-called India, instead of being the exclusive property of the Caste Hindus, was, "*creedally as well as humanly*", the joint domain of several religions and fraternities. Rahmat Ali asked all the non-Indian nations to realize that,

whatever differences they might have on other issues, the cause and the future of their destiny in the continent were common to them all. Their failure to make a demand for sovereignty would be "an act religiously of renegation, morally of self-degradation, territorially of self-disinheritance, and nationally of self-destruction". He then announced the formation of the Dinia Continental Movement, which would work for the recognition of this claim on behalf of all the non-Indian nations. The movement stood for the replacement of Indianism by Dinianism and of countryism by continentalism.[1]

We must now turn from Rahmat Ali's prescription for the future to the actual events in India and his reactions to them. The Muslim League had passed its Lahore Resolution in March 1940, which demanded two Muslim states in India on the ground that Muslims were a separate nation and were not prepared to live in a united India under a permanent and hostile Hindu majority. Rahmat Ali frowned upon the Lahore Resolution, and declared that the Muslim League plans for the future were cowardly and inadequate. He had, therefore, gone his own way to prescribe his Pak Plan, which was meant to bring freedom to *all* Indian Muslims, and, ultimately, to create a Dinia and a Pakasia. He must have closely followed Muslim League politics, and the course of its negotiations with the British and the Congress, between 1940 and 1946; but we have no record of his comments on the politics of this period. It seems as if he had turned his back on all contemporary developments to concentrate on preparing detailed schemes for the future, which were rich in imagination and noble in intention, but had no relation to what was happening around him.

Moreover, during these six years, the Muslim League had become the greatest Muslim organization and the only party capable of speaking for the Muslim nation. Jinnah had become the supreme leader, without whose consent or approval nothing permanent or vital could be decided for India. The League ideal of Pakistan had gripped the Muslim mind, and nothing else was considered worth looking at or negotiating about. These were substantial achievements that were to determine the future course of history. On the other hand, these were lean years for decision-making. Negotiations had been conducted fitfully, half-heartedly, and sometimes aimlessly. The British were fighting a deadly war, and saw the Indian problem only as a disturbing distraction on the margin of their consciousness. The Hindus were marking time with no definite policy

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *India: The Continent of Dinia or the Country of Doom?* (Dinia Continental Movement, Cambridge, 15 May 1945).

to offer, hoping that the Muslim problem would somehow solve itself, but making no effort to contribute towards a solution. The Muslims were strengthening themselves for the coming struggle, tightening their organization, winning the loyalty of the masses, and nullifying Hindu attempts to pretend that India was one at heart and freedom for India would be freedom for all.

It was only after the war was over, and the British Government was in a position to attend to India, that things began to move. The Cabinet Mission, after failing to evolve a plan acceptable to both Hindus and Muslims, produced its own scheme of a complicated, three-tier constitutional structure, which would have been unworkable even without Hindu-Muslim rivalry and with the best of intentions. However, after the 1935 constitution, this was the first definite and important step the British took towards a constitutional change. It gave Rahmat Ali an opportunity to express his views on the future of the Subcontinent in the context of his own plans for it.

In a statement on the Cabinet Mission plan, issued to the press on 20 May 1946, he summarized the judgement of the Pakistan National Movement on the British scheme. On behalf of the Movement, he declared that Muslims would never accept the British plan, and that for the following reasons. It reduced the Muslims to the position of a minority. It denied the right to sovereign nationhood of the Muslims of the North-West, of Bengal, of Hyderabad and of the seven other regions. It Indianized the Muslim *millat* and established Caste Hindu hegemony over it. He repudiated the basis on which the Muslim League leadership had negotiated with the British and the Hindus, and also all the agreements that might have been reached as a result of this bargaining.[1]

As the year 1946-47 was the moment of decision for the Subcontinent, Rahmat Ali's attention was now fully centred on developments here. We do not know how seriously he had been taking the Muslim League demand for a Pakistan of its own conception during the previous six years. But by the spring of 1946, he must have realized that Jinnah's ideas were going to triumph. This, however, in no way minimized his criticism of the Muslim League policy or ameliorated his attitude towards the League version of Pakistan. We have seen how uncompromising his opposition to League politics was before 1946; towards the end of this year, he again expressed his marked disapproval of Jinnah's stand. After pointing out four "perils" to which the creation of the Muslim League's Pakistan was

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *The Pakistan National Movement and the British Verdict on India* (Pakistan National Movement, Cambridge, n.d.).

exposed, he made a savage attack on Jinnah, charging him with distorting the original concept of Pakistan and accusing the Muslim League of fighting for a Pakistan which was of no use.[1]

If the Muslim League acceptance of the Cabinet Mission plan had angered Rahmat Ali, its acceptance of the plan of 3 June 1947 drove him wild. On 9 June 1947, he issued his last pamphlet of the pre-independence period. It was intemperate in language and extravagant in abuse.

He opened the attack with a passage that set the pattern for the rest of the declaration: "The incredible has happened. In its life and death struggle, the blackest treachery has been committed against the Millat ... To his crying shame, to the consuming agony of the Millat and to the contemptuous joy of the British-Bania Alliance, Mr. Jinnah, followed by the All-India Muslim League, has accepted the British Plan of the 3rd of June, 1947". He contended that the acceptance was bound to have crippling effects on the history and prospects of the Muslims of India. He countered Jinnah's argument that his acceptance was a compromise, not a settlement, by saying that, morally and legally, an accepted compromise was synonymous with a settlement, and that the kind of compromise he had made, at the cost of the fundamentals of a cause, was nothing but capitulation. Jinnah's contention that the disintegration of the *millat* was unavoidable, because he could not possibly have demanded Muslim minority areas for Pakistan, carried no weight with Rahmat Ali. The plea was false, he thundered, because Jinnah could and should have taken a firm stand on the implementation of Rahmat Ali's Pak Plan. Nor was Rahmat Ali prepared to accept Pakistan as a sovereign state. On behalf of the Pakistan National Movement, he declared that it rejected the British plan, repudiated the acceptance of that plan on behalf of the *millat* by Jinnah and the All India Muslim League, and reiterated its demand for the implementation of the Pak Plan. The declaration concluded with an appeal to all Muslims to continue to strive for the future of the *millat* without fear of persecution.[2]

Almost everything in this pamphlet makes unpleasant reading. Personal attacks on Jinnah colour the style and the argument. Blinded by anger, he refused to see the practical side of the issue. A conviction of the righteousness of his own stand did not permit him to understand any other point of view.

In the middle of 1947, Rahmat Ali published the only book ever to be written by him, *Pakistan: The Fatherland of the Pak Nation.* The

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *Pakistan*, pp. 338-339 and 344-345.
2. Choudhary Rahmat Ali, *The Greatest Betrayal: How to Redeem the Millat*? (Pakistan National Movement, Cambridge, June 1947).

preface is dated 15 November 1946; but the volume must have appeared after June 1947, because, in a postscript, it contains a revised version of his statement of 9 June 1947. The preface informs us that the work represents a third edition, since there were two earlier editions entitled "Pakistan: My Faith, Fatherland and Fraternity", which were issued in 1935 and 1939, in cyclostyled form, for the use of the workers of the Pakistan National Movement. It was published from the usual Cambridge address of Rahmat Ali, 16 Montague Road, under the imprint of a new movement, the Pakistan National Liberation Movement.

It is a long book, divided into five parts, but not all of it is new. The first fifteen chapters deal with the land, regions and people of the Pakistan of Rahmat Ali's conception of 1933. Their headings convey their substance: general description; physical features; flora, fauna, and forests; agriculture, irrigation, minerals; industry, commerce, and communications; the provinces; the principalities; the enclaves; historic regions and cities; archaeological sites and places; ethnical stocks; national symbols; national shrines; national story; and the Pakistan National Movement. All this is original work (in the sense that he wrote it for the first time for this volume), except parts of the last-named chapter which reproduce his first circular, *Now or Never*, and summarize (with some amendments) his first pamphlet, *What Does the Pakistan National Movement Stand For?* Part IV, entitled "Pakistan and the World", has six chapters, of which the first five are revised versions of his earlier declarations. The sixth, "Pakistan and the Muslim World", brings out the Muslim character of Pakistan and its links with the rest of the Muslim world. Part V, called "Pakistan and the Future", has one chapter on Pakistan and its prospects, which elaborates the arguments of his pamphlet of May 1946 on the Muslim League acceptance of the British Cabinet Mission plan, and one final chapter containing a revised version of his last declaration, *The Greatest Betrayal.* There are twenty maps in the book outlining the geographical history of Pakistan from geological times up to 1942.

It must be remembered that the work deals only with Rahmat Ali's Pakistan, not with the Pakistan demanded by the Muslim League or the one created in 1947. Except in the pages reproducing or referring to his earlier pamphlets, it does not concern itself with other Muslim states or national homes that figure in his Pak Plan. The scope of the book thus raises an important question: why did Rahmat Ali confine this work to Pakistan? Since he gives no clue in the preface, we can only speculate. The most feasible explanation that comes to mind is that he was planning

to write a series of volumes studying the lands, histories and peoples of all the Muslim nations included in his larger plan. As his earliest suggestion was for a Pakistan in the north-west of India, he began with this and devoted the first volume to it. Other volumes on Bangistan, Osmanistan and the other seven homelands were to appear later, but his death put an end to this programme.

Whatever moved him to write this book, for our purposes, it contains some new concepts which mark a further point in the development of his Pakistan idea. No study of Rahmat Ali's plans would be complete without a consideration of this ultimate stage of his thinking.

In one of his earlier pamphlets he had, in passing, referred to enclaves to be granted to non-Muslims in Pakistan. This idea was elaborated in *Pakistan*. He earmarked three special regions in Pakistan for minorities who might wish to consolidate themselves within the country.

As was to be expected from one who wanted to eliminate all traces of Hinduism from Pakistan, Rahmat Ali gave new names to many mountains, rivers and other natural objects in Pakistan.

He also added four areas to the territory claimed for Pakistan in 1933. One of these was Kachch, which, geographically and historically, he maintained was a part of Sind. Kathiawar was claimed on similar grounds. The boundaries of the Punjab were stretched into the United Provinces with reference to what Rahmat Ali called the cis-Jamna strips—two tracts lying along the southern bank of the Jamna river. The last piece of territory he claimed for Pakistan was the Siguka strip, which comprised the Muslim states in the Planpur Agency and linked Sind with Kathiawar.

This expanded Pakistan of Rahmat Ali was to be a Muslim country where "the religion of a great majority of the people" would be Islam. But there would inevitably be some non-Muslim communities scattered all over the country. He emphasized the sovereignty of Pakistan by giving it certain national symbols, such as a flag, a language, a code of honour and so on.

The national language of Pakistan was to be Urdu, but he proposed to change its name to Pak. The fact that it was also the language of the whole *millat*, including those portions of it which lived in Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan, and that it was "the most widely spoken language in the Continent of Dinia", meant that it was "in fact, the *lingua franca* of the whole Cultural Orbit of Pakasia and one of the most extensively understood languages in the neighbouring Continent of Asia". The reader will notice a strong element of exaggeration in these claims for Urdu.

In the Orient, Islam was to be saved, first, by the creation of Pakistan; secondly, by the creation of other Muslim countries in India; and, finally, "after achieving the independence of our Indian homelands", by integrating them with "our 'Asian' homelands". This was the only way to "unify the nationhood of all our peoples in all our homelands in India and Asia". He did not specify these Asian homelands; but it can safely be deduced from his other writings, and his general line of thought, that he looked forward to an ultimate integration of Muslim India with Iran and Afghanistan. It is a testimony to Rahmat Ali's foresight that, in recent years, Pakistan's foreign and economic policy has been developing in the direction of embracing Pakistan, Iran and Turkey into a closely-knit alliance.

In the summer of 1948, Rahmat Ali came to pay his first (and, as it happened, the last) visit to the country which owed its name to him. The Punjab had been divided; and the village where he was born and the towns where he had spent his childhood were now a part of India. He came to Lahore, met his old friends and colleagues, and told them of the anguish of his heart. The partition of the Punjab and Bengal and the loss of Assam he found "unbearable". He confessed to his friends that "what he would have considered as a triumph was in fact but a defeat for the Muslims, in that, large areas of lands which by right belonged to Pakistan had through the machinations of Radcliffe and Lord Louis Mountbatten been handed over to Hindoostan".[1] He told Choudhry Khaliquzzaman that the partition of the two major Muslim provinces was a "betrayal".[2]

His stay in Lahore therefore was an unhappy one. For the first time, the full realization of the results of the division of provinces dawned upon him, strengthening his earlier resentment against the Muslim League's unwillingness or incapacity or both to avert this disaster to Pakistan. He rented a house on Jail Road, and obviously wanted to settle down in the country. Soon he found that he was being shadowed and watched by the Criminal Investigation Department of the Police. He got the impression that he was not welcome in Pakistan.

Whatever the reasons for his decision to return to England, he went back a broken-hearted man. He had seen with his own eyes the cruel ravages of an unjust partition. He might have hoped for a hero's reception in Pakistan; for had he not thought of it long before the Muslim League leaders had given it even a passing thought, given it a name which

1. M. Anwar, *op. cit.*
2. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan* (Lahore, 1961), p. 201.

everyone had applauded and accepted, but without a word of appreciation for its creator, and, in his own way, struggled for independence, devoting all his resources, material and intellectual, to its successful consummation, passing long years in an exile which, he now thought, had come to an end with the creation of Pakistan!

Before he left Pakistan, Rahmat Ali wrote and published one pamphlet. Entitled *The Muslim Minority in India and the Saving Duty of the U.N.O.*, it was the text of a letter Rahmat Ali addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations Organization, from Lahore on 15 August 1948, and published by the All-Dinia Milli Liberation Movement. It dealt with the crimes that were then being committed against the fifty million Muslims in India by the Hindus, explained the causes of their present helpless position under Hindu rule, and demanded that the United Nations should immediately despatch a commission of inquiry to India. He charged that the Hindus were in the process of committing a genocide of the Indian Muslims; and, in evidence of this, he quoted the speeches of some Indian leaders and the dispatches published in some British newspapers. He signed the letter as founder-president, All-Dinia Milli Liberation Movement.

A second attempt to attract the attention of the United Nations was made in December of the same year, when Rahmat Ali wrote a report on the plight of the Indian Muslims and published it in 1949 from the offices of the All-Dinia Milli Liberation Movement in Cambridge under the title of *The Muslim Minority in India and the Dinian Mission to the U.N.O.* He compared the creation and plight of Pakistan with those of Palestine, and appealed to world leaders, and particularly the Security Council of the United Nations, to come to the aid of the Indian Muslims. He also asked Pakistanis to intensify their campaign of drawing the world's attention to the question of the freedom of their brothers in India, and to "fight for it however and wherever we can". He concluded by saying that "in short, let us kindle a cause that will command the sympathy of mankind, defeat the tyranny of the Hindoos, and liberate the body and soul of our Millat throughout the subcontinent of India. For only such a cause will lead us to our final goal, which is the sovereign freedom of the Pak Millat throughout the Orbit of Pakasia".

Rahmat Ali left Pakistan for England on 1 October 1948; and the second of the above-mentioned pamphlets was issued from England after he had returned to Cambridge. About this time, he published his last and the longest pamphlet from his old Cambridge address, 16 Montague Road. Entitled *Pakistan or Pastan? Destiny or Disintegra-*

tion?, it came out in its third edition in 1950; but it has not been possible to determine the date of the first edition. However, the note attached to the pamphlet implies that its first edition also came out in 1950, because he calls it "my Annual Message to my Nation on the occasion of the Seventeenth Birth-day of Pakistan and the Pakistan National Liberation Movement". The note was dated 28 January 1950; and it will be remembered that his first message, *Now or Never*, had come out on 28 January 1933.

Much of this pamphlet expresses Rahmat Ali's agony over the political corruption in Pakistan. The most significant feature of the pamphlet, however, is Rahmat Ali's well-argued plea for making East Pakistan into a separate, sovereign state. Read in the context of the events of 1971, this appeal shows extraordinary foresight.

In retrospect, we can now see that there are five points on which the Muslim League policy was inspired or influenced by Rahmat Ali's ideas. First, for reasons not fully known to us, the League leaders did not use the word "Pakistan" in the Lahore Resolution or in their speeches at Lahore, and for some time thereafter; but everyone, including these leaders, knew that it was Pakistan that was being demanded. Secondly, the two-nation theory on which the demand for separation was based was for the first time argued in detail by Rahmat Ali. Thirdly, until April 1946, the League's official position was that two separate states should be created in the north-west and the north-east of India; and this followed Rahmat Ali's scheme, in which Pakistan and Bangistan were to be separate countries and states. Fourthly, the League's insistence on including Assam, not a Muslim-majority province, in the north-eastern state can also be traced to Rahmat Ali, whose Bang-i-Islam, or Bangistan, was to embrace Bengal and Assam. Fifthly, almost every argument brought forth by the Muslim League in support of the desirability and inevitability of Pakistan had already been used by Rahmat Ali.

To dismiss all this as coincidence is to reject history in favour of prejudice. The Muslim League leaders might have had their reasons for not mentioning Rahmat Ali in their campaign for Pakistan, and later historians of the League might or might not be able to explain their failure to acknowledge Rahmat Ali's influence; but, if facts are anything to go by, there is little doubt that the Muslim League's ideal of and struggle for Pakistan owed a great deal to the Pakistan National Movement and the ideas and opinions of Rahmat Ali.

"It is evident", wrote Halide Edib, "that the formative influences of his early youth led him to mix nationhood with religion, and his contact

with the Hindus led him to believe that the Muslims can expect no quarter from the Hindus, and must therefore either organize themselves to meet the coming danger of Hindu domination, or go down for ever. In speaking about the British it was also evident that he was under the influence of what he read about European expansion, mostly at the expense of Muslim nations, and the exploitation of the subject peoples by Western imperialism".[1] This seems a fair summary of the mental and moral influences that impelled Rahmat Ali towards thinking on separatist lines. His reading of the Hindu mind and the burning consciousness of being a Muslim ruled out any possibility of a composite Hindu-Muslim state and therefore of a united India. His study of the history of British imperialism, which had prospered mostly at the expense of Muslim lands, and the natural inner urge to be free drove him to oppose the continuation of an alien rule over India. With these two alternatives out of the way, there was only one solution to the Hindu-Muslim problem, the issue of Indian independence and the question of British withdrawal. That was the creation of a number of Muslim states in the Subcontinent, so that Hindus and Muslims could live in peace in separate countries, instead of trying to live together amid bloodshed, frustration and perennial rivalry. It seemed an easy and natural solution, once it had been enunciated; but the practical problems its implementation involved had been ignored—and Hindus and Muslims naturally reacted differently to it.

The Hindus were the first to realize its implications and see its dangers to their position. Unlike the Muslim leadership of the thirties, they "did not dismiss Pakistan as an impracticable students' dream. They saw its power and realized its dangers for their own schemes against the Muslims".[2] From 1937 onwards, we find Hindu commentators generously using the word "Pakistan" as an adjective qualifying what they called the Muslim mentality and attitude. Professor Gulshan Rai and others began to employ the word as an equivalent of "communal". Fear and dislike were thus the predominant elements of Hindu reaction.

The impact on the Muslims was more varied, and reflected their initial uncertainty in owning an idea which appealed to their hearts, but had yet not been accepted by their leaders. It was the youth of north-west Muslim India, particularly of the Punjab, which first felt the force of Rahmat Ali's message. With their minds already prepared for something of this kind by F.K. Khan Durrani, Murtaza Ahmad Khan Maikash, Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan and Iqbal, and by the events occurring daily

1. Halide Edib, *op. cit.*, p. 351.
2. Sirdar Ikbal Ali Shah, *Pakistan: A Plan for India* (London, 1944), p. 14.

around them, they found that the Pakistan plan struck a very responsive chord in their hearts. The Punjab Muslim Students Federation and the Inter-Collegiate Muslim Brotherhood of Lahore were among the youth organizations that in 1937 resolved to struggle for a Muslim state in the north-west. In 1938, the followers of Rahmat Ali established a separate association in Lahore, called the Majlis-i-Kabir-i-Pakistan. It was in this way that the idea of Pakistan came to be propagated in the Punjab (and to some extent outside, too; for Muslim newspapers of Lahore had a wide reading public throughout India) at least two years before the Muslim League adopted it as a goal. This attests to Rahmat Ali's influence and defines his role in the independence movement.

The outstanding quality of Rahmat Ali's character was sincerity. Except Jinnah, few people in the history of the Pakistan movement equal his record of single-mindedness and devotion. Everyone who came in contact with him speaks highly of his loyalty to the cause that he had made his own. It was above all his honesty of purpose that effected a transformation in the students around him in England.

Even an observer like Halide Edib, who looked with marked disapproval on every manifestation of separatism among Indian Muslims, was impressed with Rahmat Ali's deep faith in his cause and his personal integrity. "At the moment" she wrote, "the dominant passion of Mr. Rahmat Ali's life seems to be the Muslem destiny in India. He can speak of it with the kind of eloquence which reminds one of a lawyer pleading a case, but he can also speak of it with simplicity and feeling. The writer noticed that whatever bitterness he might have had against the anti-Muslem Hindu mentality which had hurt him in his youth, he does not allow it to influence his outlook in regard to Pakistan".[1]

With such personal moral resources to back up his movement, success was bound to bless his efforts. It was an added advantage that his ideals exactly suited the temper of the time. Muslims were then in search of a permanent solution that would lift the curse of insecurity from their political and social existence and give them the hope of an honourable and free life. The Pakistan plan answered their requirements in every way; and once they grasped the idea, nothing could stop them from pursuing it to the ultimate end.

Of course, there were weaknesses in Rahmat Ali's scheme. No human effort is perfect. His Pakistan and Bangistan were reasonable demands, justified by every political principle: self-determination, nationalism, common sense, expediency, justice, popular will, stability,

1. Halide Edib, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

practicability. His Osmanistan plan was less practicable, with nothing but the memory and tradition of an Islamic past to support it. His plan for other Muslim states and national homes was hardly realistic. Neither the Hindus nor the British would have ever agreed to it. It also involved a large-scale transfer of population that might not have been acceptable to the Muslims themselves. Even in the unlikely event of their successful establishment, these mini-states could not have been viable. There are a few examples of very small countries existing in the world; but they are not surrounded by hostile states on the look-out for bringing them to a swift end. Similarly, his larger scheme of converting India into a continent of Dinia was too idealistic to be realizable within any foreseeable future.

But there were also elements of strength that more than compensated for the defects. Apart from the details of his scheme, he emphasized three broad principles that testify to his deep understanding of the Muslim problem in India and the general history of Islam in the world. One was the Islamic nature of his appeal. Naturally he brought up other arguments that are useful and relevant in every political campaign—arguments from democracy, nationalism and anti-imperialism. But what inspired his thinking and gave coherence to his aspirations was the love of Islam. His non-Muslim detractors might call it a slogan, or whatever else pleases them; but the fact remains that, for Muslims, there can be no ideal higher than the protection of their faith and the integration and honour of their *millat*. The Muslim League campaign for Pakistan was also rooted in the same instinct. The second of his principles related to the nature of minorities as demonstrated in the larger historical perspective. He realized that minorities were always a source of danger. They could be dealt with only in two ways: they could be liquidated, so that the state should be free of all fear of treachery, or, and particularly if they were of sizeable proportions, they could be made free and allowed to go their own way. This he saw as a historical truth to which the experience of so many countries, nations and races was a witness.

The third principle, which he derived from his study of the history of both India and Islam, concerned the reaction of the Muslim minority faced with the possibility of leading a life of perpetual subservience. The history of the Indian Subcontinent proved that it had never constituted one united country since the days of the Dravidians. It was always the sword of an alien warrior that had brought these vast tracts of land together under one rule. Force alone had been the instrument of creating the one out of the many; and when the strong hand of the unifier had

lost its cunning, the *facade* of unity had crumbled into chaos. The history of Islam taught another lesson that fitted into the Indian situation. The size of the Muslim minority of India posed a question to which the history of Islam had already given an answer. Muslim communities of such a large size had never been slaves to anyone. Either they had wrested their freedom from the hands of those who claimed a right over them or they had vanished from history and been lost to the faith. If they loved honour and independence and dignity, they fought for the prize and carved out a place of their own. If their determination was unequal to their ambition, they met the fate of the weak and disappeared from view as a people: the Muslims of Spain, of Austria and of Yugoslavia offered a salutary example of the decline and fall of the *ci-devant* rulers. This was a lesson of history which offered the Indian Muslims only two choices: either to accept the rule of the Hindu and thus vanish from the roll of Islam or to fight for a country of their own and live in honour and faith. There were no other possibilities, no half-way houses, no virtuous compromises. It is a measure of Rahmat Ali's intellect that he chose to build up his movement on the foundations of these broad principles vindicated by history rather than on minor arguments sanctioned by expediency. By doing this, he raised the level of debate to historical verities and left the world of politicians behind him. His role in the development of the idea of Pakistan was essentially that of a thinker. He learnt many lessons from the past. He realized that he was living amid events that were soon bound to give a new shape to the things to come. He saw far into the future, and did what he could to ensure that it was in keeping with the better traditions of the past. No man could have done more.

His achievements were no less remarkable on the narrower plane of concrete schemes and exact suggestions. He was the first to think of a sovereign status for the Muslims of India, to prepare a well-defined plan for this, to organize a movement for advancing the cause, and to mount a proper campaign for preaching to the unconverted. That he did this alone speaks volumes for his resolution, enterprise, industry and devotion. In one particular respect, Rahmat Ali's name is unique in the history of the world. He is the only man to have given a name to a country many years before that country came into existence. There are examples, though not many, of countries being called after a great man. But Pakistan stands alone as a country which owes its name to the imagination of one man.

Early in 1951, Rahmat Ali caught a chill, which soon developed into pneumonia. On 31 January, he was admitted to the Evelyn Nursing Home, situated just outside Cambridge. The best medical aid failed to revive him, and on 3 February 1951, he died at 1 p.m. in the Nursing Home. He was buried at the Newmarket Road Cemetery, where his earthly remains still lie in exile.

1

NOW OR NEVER

Are We to Live or Perish for Ever?

3, HUMBERSTONE ROAD,
CAMBRIDGE.
28th January, 1933.

Dear Sir,

I am enclosing herewith an appeal on behalf of the thirty million Muslims of PAKSTAN, who live in the five Northern Units of India—Punjab, N.W.F.P. (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sindh and Baluchistan, embodying their inexorable demand for the recognition of their separate national status, as distinct from the rest of India, by the grant of a separate Federal Constitution on social, religious, political and historical grounds.

May I venture to request you to acquaint me please with your valuable opinion as to the proposed solution of this great Indian problem as explained herein.

I do hope and trust that, vitally interested as you are in the permanent solution of this problem, the objects outlined in the appeal will meet with your fullest approval and active support.

Yours truly,

RAHMAT ALI,

(Choudhary).

ان الله لا يغير ما بقوم حتى يغيروا ما بانفسهم

NOW OR NEVER

Are We to Live or Perish for Ever?

At this solemn hour in the history of India, when British and Indian statesmen are laying the foundations of a Federal Constitution for that land, we address this appeal to you, in the name of our common heritage, on behalf of our thirty million Muslim brethren who live in PAKSTAN —by which we mean the five Northern units of India, viz.: Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan—for your sympathy and support in our grim and fateful struggle against political crucifixion and complete annihilation.

Our brave but voiceless nation is being sacrificed on the altar of Hindu Nationalism not only by the non-Muslims, but to the lasting disgrace of Islam, by our own so-called leaders, with reckless disregard to our future and in utter contempt of the teachings of history.

The Indian Muslim Delegation at the Round Table Conference have committed an inexcusable and prodigious blunder. They have submitted, in the name of Hindu Nationalism, to the perpetual subjection of the ill-starred Muslim nation. These leaders have already agreed, without any protest or demur and without any reservation, to a Constitution based on the principle of an All-India Federation. This, in essence, amounts to nothing less than signing the death-warrant of Islam and its future in India. In doing so, they have taken shelter behind the so-called Mandate from the community. But they forgot that that suicidal Mandate was framed and formulated by their own hands. That Mandate was not the

Mandate of the Muslims of India. Nations never give Mandates to their representatives to barter away their very souls; and men of conscience never accept such self-annihilating Mandates, if given—much less execute them. At a time of a crisis of this magnitude, the foremost duty of saving statesmanship is to give a fair, firm and fearless lead, which, alas, has been persistently denied to eighty millions of our co-religionists in India by our leaders during the last seventy-five years. These have been the years of false issues, of lost opportunities and of utter blindness to the most essential and urgent needs of the Muslim interests. Their policy has throughout been nerveless in action and subservient in attitude. They have all along been paralysed with fear and doubt, and have deliberately, time and again, sacrificed their political principles for the sake of opportunism and expediency. To do so even at this momentous juncture is a policy of Bedlam. It is idle for us not to look this tragic truth in the face. The tighter we shut our eyes, the harder that truth will hit us.

At this critical moment, when this tragedy is being enacted, permit us to appeal to you for your practical sympathy and active support for the demand of a separate Federation—a matter of life and death for the Muslims of India—as outlined and explained below.

India, constituted as it is at the present moment, is not the name of one single country; nor the home of one single nation. It is, in fact, the designation of a State created for the first time in history, by the British. It includes peoples who have never previously formed part of India at any period of its history; but who have, on the other hand, from the dawn of history till the advent of the British, possessed and retained distinct nationalities of their own.

In the five Northern Provinces of India, out of a total population of about forty millions, we, the Muslims, constitute about thirty millions. Our religion, culture, history, tradition, economic system, laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are basically and fundamentally different from those of the people living in the rest of India. The ideals which move our thirty million brethren-in-faith living in these Provinces to make the highest sacrifices are fundamentally different from those which inspire the Hindus. These differences are not confined to the broad basic principles—far from it. They extend to the minutest details of our lives. We do not inter-dine; we do not inter-marry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different.

It is preposterous to compare, as some superficial observers do, the differences between Muslims and Hindus with those between Roman

Catholics and Protestants. Both the Catholics and Protestants are part and parcel of one religious system—Christianity; while the Hindus and Muslims are the followers of two essentially and fundamentally different religious systems. Religion in the case of Muslims and Hindus is not a matter of private opinion as it is in the case of Christians; but on the other hand constitutes a Civic Church which lays down a code of conduct to be observed by their adherents from birth to death.

If we, the Muslims of Pakstan, with our distinct marks of nationality, are deluded into the proposed Indian Federation by friends or foes, we are reduced to a minority of one to four. It is this which sounds the death-knell of the Muslim nation in India for ever. To realise the full magnitude of this impending catastrophe, let us remind you that we thirty millions constitute about one-tenth of the whole Muslim world. The total area of the five units comprising PAKSTAN, which are our homelands, is four times that of Italy, three times that of Germany and twice that of France; and our population seven times that of the Commonwealth of Australia, four times that of the Dominion of Canada, twice that of Spain, and equal to France and Italy considered individually.

These are facts—hard facts and realities—which we challenge anybody to contradict. It is on the basis of these facts that we make bold to assert without the least fear of contradiction that we, Muslims of PAKSTAN, do possess a separate and distinct nationality from the rest of India, where the Hindu nation lives and has every right to live. We, therefore, deserve and must demand the recognition of a separate national status by the grant of a separate Federal Constitution from the rest of India.

In addressing this appeal to the Muslims of India, we are also addressing it to the two other great interests—British and Hindu—involved in the settlement of India's future. They must understand that in our conviction our body and soul are at stake. Our very being and well-being depends upon it. For our five great Northern states to join an All-India Federation would be disastrous, not only to ourselves, but to every other race and interest in India, including the British and the Hindu.

This is more especially true when there is a just and reasonable alternative to the proposed settlement, which will lay the foundations of a peaceful future for this great sub-continent; and should certainly allow of the highest development of each of these two peoples without one being subject to another. This alternative is a separate Federation of these five predominantly Muslim units—Punjab, North-West Frontier Province (Afghan Province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. The Muslim

Federation of North-West India would provide the bulwark of a buffer state against any invasion either of ideas or of arms from outside. The creation of such a federation would not materially disturb the ratio of the Muslim and Hindu population in the rest of India. It is wholly to the interest of British and Hindu statesmanship to have as an ally a free, powerful and contented Muslim nation having a similar but separate Constitution to that which is being enacted for the rest of India. Nothing but a separate Federation of our homelands would satisfy us. This demand is basically different from the suggestion put forward by Doctor Sir Mohammed Iqbal in his Presidential address to the All-India Muslim League in 1930. While he proposed the amalgamation of these Provinces into a single state forming a unit of the All-India Federation, we propose that these Provinces should have a separate Federation of their own. There can be no peace and tranquillity in the land if we, the Muslims, are duped into a Hindu-dominated Federation where we cannot be the masters of our own destiny and captains of our own souls.

Do the safeguards provided for in the Constitution give us any scope to work for our salvation along our own lines? Not a bit. Safeguard is the magic word which holds our leaders spellbound, and has dulled their consciences. In the ecstasy of their hallucinations they think that the pills of safeguards can cure nation-annihilating earthquakes. Safeguards asked for by these leaders and agreed to by the makers of the Constitution can never be a substitute for the loss of separate nationality. We, the Muslims, shall have to fight that course of suicidal insanity to death. What safeguards can be devised to prevent our minority of one in four in an All-India Federation from being sacrificed on every vital issue to the aims and interests of the majority race, which differs from us in every essential of individual and corporate life? What safeguards can prevent the catastrophe of the Muslim nation smarting and suffering eternally at the frustration of its every social and religious ideal? What safeguards can compensate our nation awakened to its national consciousness for the destruction of its distinct national status? However effective and extensive the safeguards may be, the vital organs and proud symbols of our national life, such as army and navy, foreign relations, trade and commerce, communications, posts and telegraphs, taxation and customs, will not be under our control, but will be in the hands of a Federal Government, which is bound to be overwhelmingly Hindu. With all this, how can we, the Muslims, achieve any of our ideals if those ideals conflict—conflict as they must—with the ideals of Hindus?

The history of the last century, in this respect, is full of unforgettable

lessons for us. Even one who runs may read them. To take just one instance: Despite all these safeguards and guarantees we have enjoyed in the past, the very name of our national language—URDU, even now the *lingua franca* of that great sub-continent—has been wiped out of the list of Indian languages. We have just to open the latest census report to verify it. This by itself is a tragic fall. Are we fated to fall farther? But that too is dust in the scales by comparison with the tremendous national issues involving our whole future as a nation and a power not only in India but also in the whole of Asia.

In the face of these incontrovertible facts, we are entitled to ask for what purpose are we being asked to make the supreme sacrifice of surrendering our nationality and submitting ourselves and our posterity to Non-Muslim domination? What good is likely to accrue to Islam and Muslims by going into the Federation is a thing which passes our understanding. Are we to be crucified just to save the faces of our leaders, or to bolster up the preposterous falsehood that India can be a single nation? Is it with a view to achieve [*sic.*] a compromise at all costs, or is it to support the illusion that Hindu nationalism is working in the interests of Muslims as well as Hindus? Irony is flattered to death by a mental muddle of such a nature and on such a scale. We have suffered in the past without a murmur and faced dangers without demur. The one thing we would never suffer is our own self-strangulation. We will not crucify ourselves upon the cross of Hindu nationalism in order to make a Hindu-holiday.

May we be permitted to ask of all those statesmen—Muslim or British or Hindu—supporting the Federal Constitution, if it is really desirable to make our nation sacrifice all that Islam has given us during the last fourteen hundred years to make India a nation? Does humanity really stand to gain by this stupendous sacrifice? We dare say that still in Islam the ancient fire glows and promises much for the future, if only the leaders would let it live. Whilst in Europe, excluding Russia, in about the same area as that of India and with about the same population, there live and prosper as many as twenty-six nations, with one and the same religion, civilisation and economic system, surely it is not only possible but highly desirable for two fundamentally different and distinct nations, i.e., Muslim and Hindu, to live as friendly neighbours in peace and prosperity inthat vast sub-continent. What bitter irony is it that our leaders have not the courage to stand up and demand the minimum for our political salvation.

We are face to face with a first-rate tragedy, the like of which has

not been seen even in the long and eventful history of Islam. It is not the question of a sect or of a community going down; but it is the supreme problem which affects the destiny of the whole of Islam and the millions of human beings who, till quite recently, were the custodians of the glory of Islam in India and the defenders of its frontiers. We have a still greater future before us, if only our soul can be saved from the perpetual bondage of slavery forged in an All-India Federation. Let us make no mistake about it. The issue is now or never. Either we live or perish for ever. The future is ours only if we live up to our faith. It does not lie in the lap of the gods, but it rests in our own hands. We can make or mar it. The history of the last century is full of open warnings, and they are as plain as were ever given to any nation. Shall it be said of us that we ignored all these warnings and allowed our ancient heritage to perish in our own hands?

MOHD ASLAM KHAN,
(Khattak).
President, Khyber Union.

SHEIKH MOHD SADIQ,
(Sahibzada).

RAHMAT ALI,
(Choudhary).

INAYAT ULLAH KHAN,
(of Charsaddah).
Secretary, Khyber Union.

2

What Does THE PAKISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT Stand For?

The Pakistan National Movement,

16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First Edition............1933

Second Edition..........1937

Third Edition...........1942

WHAT DOES THE PAKISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT STAND FOR ?

Note

In those vast and varied spaces of South Asia, which are often erroneously called the Sub-continent of India, the Pakistan National Movement is the only political movement that has a creative and consolidating message, not only for the future of the people of Pakistan itself, but also for that of all peoples living in their historic lands. That is to say, that while the Indian National Congress wholly concentrates its ambitions upon imposing "Indian" nationality on the non-Indian peoples and most of the other political organisations mainly confine their aspirations to the narrow limits of the interests of their own communities, the ideology of our Movement essentially activates and embraces the right of every nation to its national life and liberty in its own homeland, now incorporated in "India."

We are, therefore, justly proud of the fact that the birth of the Movement in 1933 and its work since that year have heralded the dawn of a new epoch, marking the renaissance of the nations of South Asia. I mean the nations that, for long centuries, have suffered the domination of "Indianism" which is at once the most primitive, the most pervasive, and the most pernicious domination in the world.

How far the struggle of the Movement has spread and succeeded may be judged from the fact that, morally, it has already startled the East, staggered "Indianism," and stirred the submerged races and religions of South Asia; nationally, it has already won the active allegiance of 100

million Muslims to its cause of the distinct nationhood of Muslims in their lands which I named Pakistan, Usmanistan and Bang-i-Islamistan; and, internationally, it has already revived the national hopes of the Dravidians, of the Sikhs, of the Rajpoots, and of the Mahrattas in their respective strongholds, the first two of which, for want of any other designation, I personally call Dravidia (to define the domain of the Dravidians) and Guruistan (to describe the land of the Gurus, enshrining the sources of the Sikh religious scripture, Guranth Sahib, and of their national script, Gurmukhi) and the last two of which are universally known as Rajistan and Maharashtar.

This pamphlet attempts to deal with the fundamentals of the political ideology of the Movement which, in the fullness of time, are destined to recast the Sub-continent of "India" into South Asia and thereby restore the right to nationhood of the peoples who are, at the moment, condemned by "Indianism" to the mean position of minority communities in their own fatherlands. I hope and trust that it will help the public to understand and appreciate more fully than ever that the struggle of the Movement is as much for the liberation of other victims of the domination of "Indianism" as it is for that of Pakistan, of Usmanistan, and of Bang-i-Islamistan.

12th July, 1942. C. Rahmat Ali.

If you read the history of South Asia and review the vicissitudes through which its peoples have passed, you will be struck by the grim fact that, throughout the ages, one force has, above everything else, dominated them all and defeated their efforts to improve the lot of their countries.

This force I call "Indianism." Born and bred before the dawn of history, it became dangerous in the Dark Ages. And, since those distant times, it has spread far and wide and, growing into a destructive dominium, has victimised men and millats, crippled creeds and countries, and enslaved at least half the continent of Asia.

Yet such is the tragic irony of fate that, despite this gruesome record, its victims have always played into its hands. For even if you ignore the remote past and think only of recent times, you will find that they have again subordinated both their heritages and their destinies to its supremacy.

I will explain.

When, in the current period of the history of South Asia, "Indianism," under the auspices of British Imperialism and through the hands of a British citizen in the service of that Imperialism, established in 1885 its

first political institution, it cleverly called this institution the All-India National Congress. I say cleverly, because by the subtle, but none the less unmistakable, implications of this nomenclature, it first designated as India all the lands of South Asia incorporated into the British Empire; secondly, denied the right of the non-Indian nations therein to distinct nationhoods of their own; and, thirdly, asserted its pretentious claim to stamping Indian nationality on the peoples living in those lands which, through such dubious devices, it has made known to the world as the Sub-continent of India.

Indubitably, therefore, this nomenclature was a trap cunningly set by "Indianism" for non-Indians—a trap which, with the clarity of vision born of suffering, they should have avoided. But, blindly enough, they all fell into it. For, in the course of time, when even the great, historic peoples like the Muslims, the Sikhs, and the Rajpoots, started their own organisations, they apishly called them All-India Muslim League, All-India Muslim Conference, All-India Sikh Conference, and All-India Rajpoot Conference, etc.

Now this preposterous prefix of "All-India" to the names of their organisations meant, if it meant anything at all, that though they were Muslims, Sikhs, or Rajpoots, yet they all were "Indians". Little did the founders of these political bodies realise that, in adding the highsounding title of "All-India" to their names, they were fastening the fetters of "Indianism" on their peoples and handing over their lands to its political hegemony.

Is it any wonder then that this blundering policy cost them dear? To the apostles of "Indianism", always in league with British Imperialism, it came as a great opportunity and naturally they made the best of it. By a mixture of bribing and bullying, they played off the Muslims against the Sikhs and the Sikhs against the Muslims, the Rajpoots against the Mahrattas and the Mahrattas against the Rajpoots, and pinned them all down to this "self-Indianising" policy throughout the past half century.

Again, in this period, while its victims slept, "Indianism" itself remained wide awake. Gathering power and prestige for itself, in 1930 it made a supreme bid for establishing an All-India Federation.

But why Federation?

Because, of all the constitutions known to the law, Federal constitution alone could enslave for ever the non-Indian peoples and ensure both the permanent renunciation by them of the remaining vestiges of their distinct nationhood and their formal acceptance of Indian nationality.

This was the central idea underlying the proposal for Federation.

But fortunately for the non-Indians, the All-India Federation, as passed by the British Parliament in 1935, came to nothing. It was thwarted by the forces of opposition, inspired, fostered, and led by the Pakistan National Movement, which was the first to reject the incorporation of Muslim nations and of their territories into the Federation.

Thus the federal move by "Indianism" failed, but its age-old motive to perpetuate its hegemony persisted. This finally convinced the Movement that only a sustained crusade against it would liberate South Asia from its domination and give the nations a chance to live in freedom in their national homelands.

Hence the following programme of the Movement, which speaks for itself.

I. The Pakistan National Movement stands for the *spiritual liberation* of the nations of South Asia from the *secular thraldom* of "Indianism."

Why?

Because, in the past 3,500 years of its grip on South Asia, "Indianism" has systematically opposed all religions and ceaselessly worked for their disintegration. The sombre results of its cruel campaign against religion can briefly be summed up in the statement that, in its long career, it has banished Buddhism and absorbed Jainism; it has menaced Islam and stifled Sikhism.

Now religion is the anchor of life—both individual and national. If you weaken the hold of this anchor, you vitiate the very purpose of life. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to say that the anti-religious activities of "Indianism" have grievously retarded the spiritual emancipation of mankind and dwarfed the moral development of half the population of the continent of Asia. In view of these stark realities, the Pakistan National Movement is leading a struggle to remove the stranglehold of "Indianism" from South Asia and to liberate the nations living therein from its secular thraldom so that they can recover their spiritual freedom.

II. The Pakistan National Movement stands for the *cultural liberation* of the nations of South Asia from the *barbarian influence* of "Indianism."

Why?

Because, in the past three millenia, while "Indianism" itself has contributed next to nothing to the cultures of South Asia, it has corrupted almost everything created by the non-Indian nations. This means to say that it has debased the Saracenic civilisation of the Muslims, the chivalrous code of the Rajpoots, the knightly creed of the Sikhs, and the

martial tradition of the Mahrattas, and, in the end, attempted to "Indianise" them all, body, mind, and soul.

This record of its barbarity towards the cultural patrimony of the peoples of South Asia not only deserves the severest condemnation at the hands of all, but also demands from the aggrieved nations the strongest measures of self-defence against its future encroachments. For only if, and when, an impregnable defence is created against it, can they revert to their original conception of life and regenerate their respective cultures in their national strongholds. So the Pakistan National Movement is determined to confine "Indianism" to its historical and national sphere —India (Hindoostan), and thereby provide an opportunity for the non-Indian nations to achieve their cultural liberation from its barbarian influence.

III. The Pakistan National Movement stands for the *social liberation* of the nations of South Asia from the *caste tyranny* of "Indianism."

Why?

If you turn to any faith—whether monastic or civic—or take any philosophies of life—whether social or political—you will find that one and all of them honour, accept, and act upon, the basic principle of brotherhood of their own followers. To this universal principle, "Indianism" provides the sole exception.

It rejects this principle *in toto* and preaches and practises instead the cult of the inequality of man before man and his Maker. Thus it institutes and perpetuates divisions among the people and disqualifies them from integrating themselves as nations fit enough to take their places in the comity of nations.

The Pakistan National Movement maintains that this caste tyranny is a curse to South Asia that must be removed. Hence the Movement's fight to sweep away the age-old disabilities imposed by "Indianism" upon the peoples, and to restore their social status to them so that they can rise again to their fullest stature in the world.

IV. The Pakistan National Movement stands for the *economic liberation* of the nations of South Asia from the *impoverishing capitalism* of "Indianism."

Why?

Because, in the past hundred and twenty generations, "Indianism" has callously exploited the 400 million people living in South Asia and left a trail of destitution and desolation in its wake. And no wonder. For, from the first day of its descent on these lands until today, it has,

throughout the Dark Ages, throughout the Middle Ages, and throughout the Modern Age, forced countless millions of men, women and children to live, labour, and perish in the service of its own material aggrandisement.

This is not to deny that, right through the centuries, despots have looted, dynasties have plundered, and imperialisms have preyed upon South Asia. It is simply to stress the fact that "Indianism" has surpassed them all.

To grasp the full significance of this statement, one has only to remember the plight of Pakistan. In this land of peasants, already denuded by the demands of British Imperialism it has been established by the highest authorities on the subject that for every rupee a peasant pays to the Government as land revenue, he pays no less than eighteen as interest to the money-lending institutions and agents of "Indianism."

So it is clear that, from its groaning victims, "Indianism" is, even today, receiving in interest, in compound interest, and in usurious exactions, a tribute that is more exorbitant than that ever extorted by the worst mammonist known to mankind.

It being the solemn belief of the Pakistan National Movement that this crippling capitalism which, for its own greed for gold, has so inhumanly treated the people and created mountains of misery for them, has no right to function any longer, it is resolved to write "finis" to the impoverishing capitalism of "Indianism" so as to ensure the economic liberation of the nations of South Asia.

V. The Pakistan National Movement stands for the *national liberation* of the peoples of South Asia from the *destructive domination* of "Indianism."

Why?

Because, in the past thirty-five centuries of its domination, "Indianism" first nearly exterminated physically a civilised and ancient race—the Dravidians; secondly, it reduced socially to the position of mere serfs, a peace-loving and industrious people, now commonly known as the Depressed Classes; thirdly, it ruined politically four great nations—the Muslims, the Rajpoots, the Mahrattas, and the Sikhs; and, lastly, to buttress its own wrongful position, it dragooned them all into subjection to British Imperialism in South Asia.

It can, therefore, hardly be gainsaid that the present degradation of South Asia is, in the ultimate analysis, due to the destructive policy of "Indianism." To defeat this policy and to defend the national existence of the peoples of South Asia, the Pakistan National Movement has, since

its foundation in 1933, made it a principle to admit the birthright of each and every nation which is under Indian domination to a nationhood of its own in the territory wherein it may form a majority of the population; further, to support by all legitimate means the actual realisation of this right by all such nations; furthermore to acknowledge this right even in the case of the Sikhs, of the Christians, of the Dravidians, and of the Depressed Classes, who, though morally and numerically qualified to form distinct nations of their own, cannot at present do that because they are so scattered that they can neither possess a majority in any province nor claim a part of a province as exclusively their own. In each of these cases the Movement, in order to enable them to recreate their nationhoods and to achieve their national liberation from the destructive domination of "Indianism," concedes their right to as much of the area of the land of their birth as may correspond to the numerical ratio of their people to the total population of the province concerned.

Thus it will be seen that the Pakistan National Movement is the only political movement in South Asia that stands for the birthright of all nations to their national existence, even if that birthright may have to be satisfied, as in the case of the Sikhs, at the expense of Pakistan itself.

VI. The Pakistan National Movement stands for the *inter-national consolidation* of the nations of South Asia against the *de-nationalising dangers* of "Indianism."

How?

Standing as it does for the "Asianisation" of the non-Indian nations and their countries now caged within "India," for the elimination of the forces maintaining the domination of "Indianism," and for the creation of the spirit of inter-national solidarity among the peoples of South Asia, the Pakistan National Movement holds that, to realise these common purposes, the nations concerned must first recognise and guarantee the integrity of one another in such a manner that, without let or hindrance, they can all develop along their own lines and achieve their national ideals in their own ways; and then, on the basis of voluntary and mutual co-opeation, they must consolidate themselves inter-nationally by entering into alliances with their neighbours so that they can for ever offer a united front against the de-nationalising dangers of "Indianism."

In the firm conviction that that way alone lies the salvation of all—of Pakistan, Usmanistan and Bang-i-Islamistan; of Guruistan, Hindoostan and Rajistan; of Maharashtar and Dravidia—the Pakistan National Movement is working to enlist the sympathy and support of these countries for the success of its campaign against "Indianism," a success that will

open a new chapter in the history of South Asia.

VII. The Pakistan National Movement stands for the creation of a *new order of* "*Asianism*" to take the place of the *old order of* "*Indianism*" in South Asia.

How?

From time immemorial most of the nations of South Asia have in one way or the other, been controlled by the callous spirit and by the crude system of "Indianism." It is true that, in the days of their power, they have defied and defeated both its spirit and its system, but the fact remains that, in the end, they have all, one by one, passed under its influence, parted with their freedom, and met their fate.

This is one of the most instructive lessons taught by their tragedies of the past and the Pakistan National Movement, having taken it to heart, asks the nations of South Asia to remember it and to realise once and for all that, so long as the old order of "Indianism" remains in force, there is no hope either for the Muslims or for the Sikhs, for the Rajpoots or for the Mahrattas, for the Dravidians or for the Depressed Classes.

So, inspired by its devotion to the present good and future greatness of Pakistan, Usmanistan and Bang-i-Islamistan, and to those of other nations of South Asia, the Movement invites and urges all of them to join together to evolve a new order of "Asianism" that will replace the old order of "Indianism," protect their national life and liberty in their fatherlands, and perpetuate the moral entity and political integrity of South Asia.

These, in brief, are the seven cardinal principles and purposes inspiring the programme of the Pakistan National Movement and it is our belief that they symbolise the seven dirges of the doom of "Indianism" and the seven trumpets of the dawn of "Asianism."

Long live the Faith!

Long live the Fatherland!

Long live the Fraternity!

3

A LETTER

16, Montague Road,
CAMBRIDGE.
8th July, 1935.

My Lord,

May I venture to address this appeal to your Lordship on behalf of the people of PAKISTAN at this critical hour, when Parliament is giving final shape to the Government of India Bill, for your Lordship's valued sympathy and support in our fateful struggle against the ruthless coercion of PAKISTAN into the proposed Indian Federation. The Government of India Bill, based on the Indian Federal Scheme, has created an acute crisis in the national life of PAKISTAN and has raised a supreme issue —an issue of life or death—for its national future.

Deeply interested as your Lordship is in the just and equitable solution of the INDO-PAKISTANIAN problem raised by the Government of India Bill, I earnestly hope that you kindly will lend your fullest support to the inexorable demand of PAKISTAN—a demand based on justice and equity—for the recognition of its sacred right to a separate national existence as distinct from HINDOOSTAN.

It is therefore most essential for me to re-state before your Lordship, as before the People and Parliament of Great Britain, the fundamental importance of the INDO-PAKISTANIAN problem, and the vital difference between the two nations living in PAKISTAN and HINDOOSTAN —the two Countries which comprise the British Indian Empire. Unless this basic distinction is fully realised and firmly grasped, the full appreciation of our demand for a Federal Constitution for PAKISTAN, as separate from HINDOOSTAN, on social, cultural, religious and historical grounds, is impossible.

PAKISTAN is not Hindoo soil nor are its people Hindoostani citizens. It has always possessed a historical, spiritual, territorial and national individuality of its own. It has been our national home from the very dawn of history, as it has remained the stronghold of our civilisation from very early ages. It was the cradle of our past as it is the hope of our future. While Hindoostanis claim HINDOOSTAN as their mothercountry by birth, we claim PAKISTAN as our fatherland by the same right. If HINDOOSTAN is theirs because they form three-fourths of its inhabitants, PAKISTAN is ours because we constitute four-fifths of its total population.

We, the Pakistanians, have lived from time immemorial our own life and sought our national salvation along our own lines. PAKISTAN has

retained, during the whole of its existence, its own laws and has cherished its own religious, spiritual and cultural ideals, which are basically different from those of HINDOOSTAN. We have, as a nation, nothing in common with them, nor they with us. In individual habits, as in national life, we differ from them as fundamentally as from any other civilised nation in the world. The very basis and content of our national life is founded on fundaments essentially different from those on which Hindooism lives and prospers. Our agelong social system and our ancient national tradition have given us a civilisation with a philosophy, a culture, a language, a literature and an art basically and fundamentally different from that of Hindoostan. That is not all. "We do not interdine; we do not intermarry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress are different." There is no dispute about these hard facts. They remain to-day, as they have ever been, unchangeable realities. This supreme distinction between PAKISTAN and HINDOOSTAN is ineffacable, as it is based on eternal truths. Our constitution-makers must reckon with Nature's decrees. It is, therefore, most important that we should call attention—reiterated attention—to this vital distinction—the attention of the British people and Parliament, the attention of HINDOOSTAN as well as the attention of the whole world.

The Joint Select Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform, on the very first page of its Report, (Session 1933-34; Vol. I, Part I), confirms our irrefutable contention in the following words:—

> "India is inhabited by many races...often as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe. Two-thirds of its inhabitants profess Hindooism in one form or another as their religion; over seventy-seven millions are followers of Islam; and the difference between the two is not only one of religion in the stricter sense, but also of law and of culture. They may, indeed, be said to represent two distinct and separate civilisations. Hindooism is distinguished by the phenomenon of caste which is the basis of its religious and social system, and save in a very restricted field, remains unaffected by contact with philosophies of the West; the religion of Islam, on the other hand, is based upon the conception of the equality of man."

Not only that. Geographically also, the lands comprising PAKISTAN form a separate and distinct unit. That nature herself decreed that PAKISTAN should remain a separate entity, and that the Jumna should flow as a boundary river between PAKISTAN and HINDOOSTAN is revealed by the fact that it is connected with HINDOOSTAN only by

the narrow strip of land which comprises the historic plain of Panipat.

The great cleavage which distinguishes PAKISTAN from HINDOOSTAN is the most natural and, therefore, the most permanent and most eternal. It has existed from time immemorial and must exist for ever. It represents our body and soul, as it stamps our separate national entity, and gives us an unchallengeable right to demand its recognition. It constitutes our ancient national heritage—of Faith and Fatherland—and we are firmly resolved to preserve it.

The Pakistan National Movement stands on these eternal truths for the right of PAKISTAN for equal status and identical position with HINDOOSTAN in the British Commonwealth of Nations. We demand the creation of a PAKISTAN FEDERATION, as our full national development would become utterly impossible after amalgamation with HINDOOSTAN as aimed at by the proposed Indian Federal Constitution. We ask for nothing more than the elementary right of national status—a right claimed by, and conceded to, HINDOOSTAN herself. We, the Pakistanians, have, more than once, emphatically repudiated the most shameful surrender of our national future made by the State-nominated Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conferences in agreeing to the Indian Federal Scheme. They were neither the delegates of PAKISTAN, nor the representatives of the Pakistanian people. They had neither mandate nor authority from the nation to accept the proposed Federal Constitution. These distinguished exponents of the art of surrender, in complete disregard of the warnings of history, sold our nationality and sacrificed our posterity. They will have to answer for this—the most contemptible betrayal of PAKISTAN—before history.

I hope it is clear that in demanding the creation of a PAKISTAN FEDERATION, we are not in any way moved by a feeling of hostility towards either the British or the Hindoostanis. The demand springs from the motives of self-defence and self-preservation alone. We, the Pakistanians, are neither anti-British nor anti-Hindoostani; we are, and shall ever remain, pro-Pakistani. We are neither opposed to co-operation with the British Commonwealth of Nations, nor to an understanding with Hindoostan. We are opposed to the glaring iniquity and gross injustice done to our Fatherland by means of the proposed Indian Federal Scheme. Our acceptance of Hindoostani nationality and amalgamation with Hindoostan is not only impossible, but unthinkable, and, from the highest interests of humanity, undesirable. We are, therefore unflinchingly determined to protect the purity of Pakistanian principle, practice and philosophy; and we are content, and shall ever be

content, to remain Pakistani. We have, therefore, a moral and legal duty to oppose, by all constitutional means, the proposed Indian Federal Scheme which is fatal for our future national being and well-being.

It is a tragedy of the first magnitude that the framers of the Government of India Bill, whilst realising the eternal differences between the two nations, failed to lay before Parliament the one and only just and equitable solution of the INDO-PAKISTANIAN problem by the grant of separate constitutions for the nations living in PAKISTAN and HINDOOSTAN. The INDO-PAKISTANIAN problem is not an inter-communal issue and will never be solved on inter-communal lines. It is an inter-national problem and, therefore, will submit itself to a permanent solution on that basis alone. Any constitution—Federal or Unitary—which disregards this vital fact, while destructive for the Pakistanians, cannot but be disadvantageous to the British and Hindoostanis as well.

It is my solemn duty, as founder of the PAKISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT, to submit that for us, the Pakistanians, it is impossible to blink at the gravity of the situation created by the proposed Federal Constitution. There can be for us no sense of security unless the right of PAKISTAN to a separate constitution, as distinct from HINDOOSTAN, is recognised. While BURMA is being separated from HINDOOSTAN with a distinct national status, it remains a mystery to us why PAKISTAN, in utter disregard of the fervent appeals of its people, is to be forced into the Indian Federation.

This denial of justice to the national demand of PAKISTAN has caused bitter disappointment and sent a current of discontent from one end of the country to the other. It has stirred the social conscience to its very depths, and roused the nation to the sense of utter wrong and irreparable injustice done to it by forcing it into a position of permanent serfdom and perpetual slavery. There is a deep and passionate resentment in the country at the proposed dismemberment of its separate national existence; and we, the Pakistanians, fully realise that to accept the proposed Indian Federal Constitution will be for us the permanent surrender of our national life, and an unqualified renunciation of our national future.

If the supporters of the Government of India Bill think that with the passage of the legislation we shall submit to it, they are mistaken. They can pass legislation but they cannot command Pakistanian co-operation to work it. They cannot impose a constitution unless they also impose justice. The proposed Federal Constitution denies sacred justice to PAKISTAN, and, therefore, will never satisfy the soul of the nation, and

will never secure its sentiment and sympathy for the Government of India Bill.

As far as the PAKISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT is concerned, we shall never look upon the Federal Act as a permanent solution of the INDO-PAKISTANIAN problem, nor can we ever accept it as the final settlement of our national status. Nothing on earth will ever induce us to play the suicidal part allotted to us under the Indian Federal Scheme. We cannot give up what we have inherited from our forefathers, nor can we surrender what has been bequeathed to us by our heroes and martyrs. We can sacrifice all but we cannot commit an act of self-strangulation by joining the Indian Federation to please the British, or to satisfy the Hindoos. That fate of serfdom, and that future of servitude—PAKISTAN as a mere administrative district subordinated to the authority of HINDOOSTAN—we will never accept. We have a sacred duty to maintain our national entity and keep our territorial integrity intact, and, with a complete fixity of purpose, we are determined to discharge that duty.

It is no exaggeration to say that this cataclysm threatens to involve our very existence and our most precious spiritual treasures. It has, therefore, forced upon us the fateful struggle for the life and honour of PAKISTAN. The struggle may be long and trying: it may entail suffering and sacrifice: but no trial can be too severe and no sacrifice too great in this noble cause. We have the fullest faith in the justice of our national demand, and an unshakable belief in the destiny of our Fatherland. We shall, therefore, enter upon this grim struggle with a clear conscience and clean hands, and we shall continue the fight with all the constitutional weapons at our disposal until justice is meted out to PAKISTAN and the wanton wrong done to its people is righted. We are sure that in this, our noble fight for the eternal truths of Faith and Fatherland, our God will help us and the inspiring example of our heroes will sustain us.

I have the honour to remain, My Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,

C. RAHMAT ALI.
(*President, Pakistan National Movement.*)

4

ISLAMIC FATHERLAND

And

INDIAN FEDERATION

Fight will go on for Pakistan

The Pakistan National Movement,

16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

ان الله لا يغير ما بقوم حتى يغيروا ما بانفسهم

ISLAMIC FATHERLAND AND INDIAN FEDERATION

Fight will go on for Pakistan

I venture to address this appeal to you on behalf of the people of PAKISTAN at this critical hour, when the British Parliament is giving final shape to the Government of India Bill, for your valued sympathy and support in our fateful struggle against the ruthless coercion of PAKISTAN into the proposed Indian Federation. The Government of India Bill, which is based on the Indian Federal Scheme, has created an acute crisis in the national life of PAKISTAN, and has raised the supreme issue of life and death of our national future.

Deeply interested as you are in a just and equitable solution of the INDO-PAKISTANI problem, now still more complicated by the Government of India Bill, I earnestly hope that you will kindly lend your fullest support to the indisputable national demand of PAKISTAN—a demand based on justice and equity for the recognition of its sacred right to a separate national existence, as distinct from HINDOOSTAN.

I think it is most essential for me to re-state before you, as before the People and Parliament of Great Britain, the fundamental significance of the INDO-PAKISTANI problem, and the vital distinction between the two nations living in PAKISTAN and HINDOOSTAN—the two Countries which constitute the British Indian Empire. For, unless this basic distinction is fully realised and firmly grasped, the true appreciation of our demand for a Federal Constitution for PAKISTAN, as separate from HINDOOSTAN, is impossible.

PAKISTAN is not Hindoo soil, nor are its people Hindoostani citizens. It is an Islamic land and its people are Pakistani citizens. It

has always possessed a spiritual, territorial, and national individuality of its own. It has been our national home from the very dawn of history, and it will remain so to the end of the world. It was the cradle of our past, as it is the hope of our future. While Hindoostanis claim HINDOOSTAN as their mother-country by birth, we claim Pakistan as our fatherland by the same right. If HINDOOSTAN is theirs because they form three-fourths of its inhabitants, Pakistan is ours because we constitute four-fifths of its total population.

We, the Pakistanis, have, from time immemorial, lived our own life, and sought our salvation along our own lines. We have throughout our history retained our own laws and cherished our own ideals, which are basically different from those of the Hindoostanis. In fact, as a nation, we have nothing in common with them, nor they with us. In individual habits, as in national life, we differ from them as fundamentally as from any other civilised nation in the world. The very core and content of our life is founded on values essentially different from those on which the Hindoostanis live and flourish. Our Islamic social system and our age-old national tradition have given us a civilisation with a philosophy, a culture, a language, a literature, and an art utterly different from theirs. Not only that. So different are our codes of life that "we do not inter-dine; we do not inter-marry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet and dress, are different." There is no dispute about these hard facts. They remain to-day, as they have ever been, indisputable realities.

This supreme distinction between PAKISTAN and HINDOOSTAN is ineffaceable, as it is based on eternal truths. Our constitution-makers must reckon with it. It is most important; and we call attention—immediate attention—to it; the attention of HINDOOSTAN as well as the attention of Britain and the whole world.

The Joint Select Committee of Parliament on Indian Constitutional Reform, on the very first page of its Report (Session 1933-34; Vol. I, Part I), confirms our irrefutable contention in the following words:—

> "India is inhabited by many races...often as distinct from one another in origin, tradition and manner of life as are the nations of Europe. Two-thirds of its inhabitants profess Hindooism in one form or another as their religion; over seventy-seven millions are followers of Islam; and the difference between the two is not only one of religion in the stricter sense, but also of law and culture. They may be said indeed to represent two distinct and separate civilisations. Hindooism is distinguished by the phenomenon of caste which is the basis of its religious and social system, and save in a very

restricted field remains unaffected by contact whith philosophies of the West; the religion of Islam, on the other hand, is based upon the conception of the equality of man."

This is not all. Geographically, also, the lands comprising PAKISTAN form a separate and distinct unit. That Nature herself decreed that PAKISTAN should remain a separate entity, and that the Jamna should flow as a boundary-river between PAKISTAN and HINDOOSTAN is shown by the fact that it is connected with HINDOOSTAN only by the narrow strip of land which is known as the historic plain of Panipat.

This great cleavage, which separates PAKISTAN from HINDOOSTAN, is the most natural and, therefore, the most significant. It represents our body and soul; it defines our national entity; and it symbolizes our ancient heritage of Faith and Fatherland—a heritage which we are firmly resolved to preserve and perpetuate.

It is on these eternal truths that the PAKISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT stands for the right of PAKISTAN to equal status and identical position with HINDOOSTAN in the Comity of Nations. It demands the creation of a PAKISTAN FEDERATION, because our full national development would become utterly impossible after the amalgamation of PAKISTAN with HINDOOSTAN, as aimed at by the proposed Indian Federal Constitution. In this it asks for PAKISTAN no more than the elementary national status—a status claimed by, and conceded to, HINDOOSTAN herself.

We, the members of the Movement, have emphatically repudiated, more than once, the shameful surrender of our national future made by the State-nominated Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference in agreeing to the Indian Federal Scheme. We have declared that they were neither the delegates of PAKISTAN, nor the representatives of the Pakistani people. They had no mandate or authority from the nation to accept the proposed Federal Constitution. On the contrary, in accepting it, they completely disregarded our wishes and warnings and committed an act of downright treachery. For this they will have to answer before History.

I hope it is clear that in demanding the creation of a PAKISTAN FEDERATION we are not, in any way, moved by a feeling of hostility towards either the British or the Hindoostanis. Our demand springs only from motives of self-respect, self-defence, and self-preservation. We are neither anti-British nor anti-Hindoostani; but we are, and will ever remain, pro-Pakistani. We are opposed neither to co-operation with the

British Commonwealth of Nations, nor to an understanding with Hindoostan. We are opposed only to the glaring iniquity and gross injustice done to our Fatherland by the proposed Indian Federal Constitution. We maintain that our acceptance of Hindoostani nationality and Pakistan's amalgamation with Hindoostan are not only impossible, but unthinkable, and, in the highest interests of humanity, undesirable. That is the supreme reason why we are determined to remain Pakistani, to defend Pakistan, and to oppose, by all constitutional means, the Indian Federal Constitution which is fatal to our national being and well-being.

It is a tragedy of the first magnitude that the framers of the Government of India Bill, while knowing the eternal differences between the two nations, failed to lay before Parliament the one and only just and equitable solution of the INDO-PAKISTANI problem—the grant of separate constitutions to the nations living in PAKISTAN and HINDOOSTAN. They ignored the fact that this great, historic problem is not an inter-communal issue and will never be solved on inter-communal lines. It is an inter-national problem, and, therefore, will submit itself to a permanent solution on that basis alone. They forgot that any constitution—Federal or Unitary—which disregards this vital fact, while destructive for us, the Pakistanis, cannot but be harmful to all other parties, including the British and the Hindoostanis.

It is my solemn duty, as Founder-President of the PAKISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT, to warn them that it is impossible for us to blink at the gravity of the situation created by the proposed Federal Constitution. We know that there can be no sense of security for our people unless the right of PAKISTAN to a separate constitution, as distinct from HINDOOSTAN, is recognised. We hold that, while for historical and religious reasons Burma is being separated from HINDOOSTAN and given a distinct national status, to coerce PAKISTAN into the INDIAN FEDERATION, in utter disregard of its distinct national entity and of the fervent appeals of its people, is nothing but a vicious denial of justice.

This denial of justice to the national demand of PAKISTAN has caused bitter disappointment and deep discontent from one end of the Fatherland to the other. It has aroused the nation to a sense of the utter wrong and irreparable harm done to the country by forcing it into a position of permanent subjection and perpetual slavery. There is a passionate resentment among Muslims at the proposed dismemberment of its national existence; and a grim realization of the fact that, for us,

the Pakistanis, to accept the Indian Federal Constitution would be a permanent surrender of our national life, and an unqualified renunciation of our national future in our own homelands.

If the supporters of the Government of India Bill think that with the passage of the legislation we shall submit to it, they are mistaken. They can pass legislation, but they cannot command Pakistani co-operation to work it. They can impose a constitution only if they also impose justice. We declare that, as the proposed Federal Constitution denies sacred justice to PAKISTAN, it will never satisfy the soul of our nation and of our Millat; and it will never secure the sentiment of any self-respecting Muslim for the Government of India Act.

So far as we, the members of the PAKISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT, are concerned, we shall never look upon the Act as a just and permanent solution of the Hindoo-Muslim problem in India, nor shall we ever accept it as a fair and final settlement of our national status in Pakistan. Nothing on earth will ever induce us to play the suicidal part allotted to us in the Indian Federation. We can concede much, but we cannot give up what we have inherited from our forefathers; nor can we surrender what we have received from our Faith and Fraternity. We can sacrifice all, but we cannot commit suicide by joining the Indian Federation to please the British, or to appease the Hindoos. That fate of subjection, and that future of servitude—our PAKISTAN as a mere administrative district of Hindoostan and our Millat as a mere minority community of the Hindoo Nation—we will never accept. We have a sacred duty to maintain our national entity, to keep intact our territorial integrity, and to protect our Millat; and, with a complete fixity of purpose, we are determined to discharge that duty. We will discharge it in the realization that the Indian Federation threatens our very existence and that it makes inevitable a struggle for the life and honour of our nation in PAKISTAN and of our Millat in India.

We will, therefore, enter upon this struggle with a clear conscience and clean hands; and we will continue it, with all the constitutional weapons at our disposal, until justice is meted out to PAKISTAN and the wanton wrong done to our nation and to our Millat is righted. The struggle may be long and trying: it may entail suffering and sacrifice: but no trial can be too severe, and no sacrifice too great for this noble cause. It is the cause of our Faith, Fatherland, and Fraternity; and to it belong our lives, and all else we possess in the world. We believe that our fight for it will have the blessings of our Allah and His Rasool and

will end in our victory—a victory which will secure the future of our nation in Pakistan and of our Millat in the Sub-continent of India.

Note: *Islamic Fatherland and Indian Federation* is the final version of an open letter which was first published on 8th July, 1935; and which, both before and after the passing by the British Parliament of the Government of India Bill of 1935, was reissued in 1935, 1936, and 1937.

5

THE MILLAT OF ISLAM

And

THE MENACE OF INDIANISM

The Pakistan National Movement,

16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

16, Montague Road,
Cambridge,
England.
[15th August, 1941.]

Dear Sir,

For your perusal I am enclosing a copy of a statement of Mr. C. Rahmat Ali, Founder-President of the Pakistan National Movement, whose spiritual vision, political strategy, and pioneer work have so transformed the Muslim political mind in the Bi-national Sub-continent of India that today most of the Muslim organisations, including the All-India Muslim League, have adopted his Pakistani programme which, since 1933, he has consistently advocated for the re-construction of the Sub-continent along historical and inter-national lines.

Although originally addressed to the Supreme Council of the Pakistan National Movement and, therefore, primarily dealing with the position of the 100 million Muslims, the statement will, I feel sure, interest you because it is fundamentally inspired by a deep conviction in an honourable future for both the Muslim Millat and the Hindoo Jati in their respective national strongholds in the Sub-continent.

Yours truly,

(Mr. M. Anwar)
Member, Supreme Council,
Pakistan National Movement.

THE MILLAT OF ISLAM AND THE MENACE OF 'INDIANISM'

Note

In response to many requests the statement I made to a meeting of the Supreme Council of the Pakistan National Movement held at Karachi, on the 8th March, 1940, is issued here in pamphlet form.

It sums up the epochal choice before the Millat, warns her against the dangers of casting in her lot with "India," and sets forth the Pakistani plan for her permanent defence against the aggression of "Indianism." Finally, it invites all Muslim parties to adopt, and work for the realisation of, this plan, which alone promises the ultimate fulfilment of the Millat's mission in South Asia.

C. RAHMAT ALI.

Choice between Re-construction in Asia and Re-destruction in "India"

New Dawn or Twilight?

Hazrat!

We meet at a solemn moment in the history of the Pakistan National Movement. To us, the moment is solemn because now, according to all signs and indications, the Millat understands the mission of the Movement, appreciates its work, and looks to it for guidance.

This is the dispensation of Allah: the divine reward for our humble efforts made in support of the first part of the Pakistani programme, the part relating to the moral revival of national consciousness among our masses and to the political restoration of our Fatherland, Pakistan. Naturally, it encourages us not only to continue our labours in that sphere but, also, to initiate the second part of the programme, the part pertaining to Bengal and to Usmanistan (Hyderabad-Deccan). So from now onwards we will devote ourselves to the cause of all the three Milli strongholds which are arbitrarily included in the Bi-national Sub-continent of "India" and seriously menaced by the great and growing forces of "Indianism."

We all realise that on this occasion our first duty is to review the whole situation, pointing out its perils and indicating its opportunities, and, then, to place the next part of our programme before the Millat, explaining its vital importance to her future and appealing to all Muslim parties to work together in unity for its fulfilment. Because, without the unity of purpose, plan, and effort, there is neither success nor survival for any one of us.

Let us, therefore, start with a clear idea as to where we stand and what we face. If we look around with discerning eyes and comprehend-

ing minds, we shall know at once that we stand at the parting of the ways and face the sternest ordeal of all time. This, in a word, is the grim reality of our present position. It has no parallel in our annals. It is true that in the thirteen centuries of our history we have known hard tests and, indeed, accomplished historic tasks; but, surely, none of those was so vast and vital, so fundamental and fateful as that which confronts us to-day.

The Choice

It is a test of life and death. It touches the roots of our spiritual heritage, involves the foundations of Pakistan, and encompasses the fortunes of the Millat throughout South Asia. Thus it is a trumpet summons to us to make our conclusive choice between the noblest national status under Islam and the meanest minority position under "Indianism"; between the historic, thirteen-century-old "Crescent and Stars" of the Millat—the sacred symbol and proud protector of our destiny—and the embryonic, eleven-year-old "Tri-Colour" of "Indianism"—the sinister portent and dark sign of our fate —and, finally, between the honourable role of sovereignty inside Asia and the miserable lot of slavery within "India."

Let us mark it well. This is the only choice. It has to be one or the other. It cannot be both.

Heroes or Helots?

What, then, will it be? Will it be the choice of the heroes of Islam who ever sacrificed their all for the Millat's honour and independence, or of the helots of careerism who always subordinated her life and liberty to an alien domination? Again, will it be the choice of the soulful patriots who saved our right to distinct nationhood in Pakistan, or of the heartless plutocrats who, in the name of Indian federalism, destroyed it throughout the Bi-national Sub-continent of "India"? Lastly, will it be the choice of the selfless men who, for the sake of the Faith, the Fatherland, and the Fraternity, plan and prepare our national struggle against "Indianism," or of the selfish minions who, for their own personal aims and family gains, preach and propose our wholesale submission to it?

Well, whether we choose one or the other, we must make up our minds quickly; for the events are moving swiftly and there is no more time to waste. Already the solemn hour has struck and the supreme trial of our faith and fibre, of our sincerity and sanity, and of our declarations and deeds is near at hand. And, presently, we are going to be weighed so

strenly in the iron-scales of eternal values that even the spirits of our martyrs and heroes call upon us to make sure that this time we are not found wanting.

Warnings of History

Inspired by this consciousness, do let us, in all humility, bow our haughty heads before Allah, commit our self-approving consciences to Him, and pray for His divine guidance. And, then, as we rise to our feet and face the scales, we must remember one thing and know the other.

The first is that in "India" we failed once before and the consequences were frightful. Spiritually, that failure ruined the noble work of twelve centuries and wrecked the wonderful organisation of our Milli life. Morally, it corrupted the standards of our Islamic values and portrayed baseness as nobility, humiliation as humility, cant as creed, and renegation as regeneration. Politically, it deprived us of imperial supremacy, dispossessed us of national sovereignty, and reduced us to a "minority community." And now, in eternal warning to us, it remains recorded in letters of blood and fire in the pages of history. That we must remember.

The second is that if we fail to-day and fall for "Indianism," the sequel will be fatal beyond redemption. As a nation, it will mean our doom without a morrow, leaving not even a glimmer of hope for our revival. The reason is that, in contrast with what we lost eighty years ago, we shall forfeit to-day even our body and soul, and, in the end, ignominously go down to posterity as the only self-betrayed, self-condemned, and self-crucified people of all time. This we must know. Why?

Because at this juncture, only the instruction offered by these two things can save us from the abyss.

Facts versus Fantasies

Let us, therefore, learn the lesson and act like enlightened men who know that any compromise on the supreme issue of our national freedom cannot but be fatal to our future. For, in all human certainty, if once we agree to remain within "India", we shall, for ever, rot in subjection to "Indianism" which is being solemnly canonised into a new cult by its clever devotees—the Indian nationalists, cringingly accepted by its miserable creatures—the Muslim careerists, and cruelly supported by its self-seeking patrons—the British Imperialists.

Bad enough indeed, but that is not all. Far worse is the fact that in one form or the other, even our foremost politicians present their duty

and pay their homage to this "Indianism". To realise that one has simply to look at the hare-brained schemes of cultural cantons, economic enclaves, linguistic zones, social spheres, and provincial domains—schemes which they have produced for our safety. With tragic irony, one and all of them, though in theory prompted by the sacred creed of "Self-determination," in practice would perpetrate the satanic crime of "Self-extermination."

How?

I shall explain. In the world to-day it is the territorial unit which defines the position of a nation, the jurisdiction of a state, and the domain of a sovereignty. This is axiomatic as, also, is the fact that all of our present anxieties and alarms in "India" originate in the mischievous myth of "Indian" territorial unity; and that, unless and until this myth is exploded, there is no hope for us.

These are plain truths, and if, in their light, we analyse these fantastic schemes we shall find that each one of them springs from the postulate of the territorial unity of "India" and consequently supports, and submits our future to, the paramountcy of "Indianism."

In these schemes this is the most fatal flaw and it is a pity that, despite our repeated warnings about it, the authors of the schemes do not realise that, on the premise of the territorial unity of "India," "Indianism" will create the central government, control its civil administration, and command its military arm; and that if, and when, sure of its power, it will, in the name of democracy and with the help of British bayonets, make use of it to coerce and crush us—its prey—into complete captivity.

Surely, "Indianism" knows that and calmly awaits its time. The question is: Do we also know that? If so, we know something. If not, we know nothing.

In any case, let us make no mistake about it. Mean and miserable is the fate that awaits us all under its aegis. I say all, princes and peasants, premiers and patwaris, "majority" provinces and "minority" provinces, and powerful states and petty estates. It may be worse, but it cannot be better.

Duty and its Demand

In the face of this fearful certainty what is our duty? Surely it is to keep our grip on the essentials of this supreme issue and be guided in our choice neither by the federal fantasies of the Anglo-Hindoo *entente* nor

by the cartographical fallacies of our purblind politicians, but only by the fundamental facts of our own national safety and salvation.

This applies to us all without exceptions. Let us, therefore, hope that at least those people and parties, including the All-India Muslim League, who, at long last, now claim for the Millat a nationality distinct from the "Indians," but still cling to "India" and call her their "Common Motherland," will re-examine the central issue in the light of the serious implications of their present position. A position which, with all deference to them, is at once foolish, false, and fatal.

It is foolish in the name of logic, because, at one and the same time, how can they be "half-Indian" and "half-non-Indian"? That is, "territorially" Indian but "nationally" non-Indian; again, "internationally" Indian, but "internally" non-Indian. This is the madness of mongrelism run amok. It crippled the Millat in the past and would kill her in the future. Let them beware of that.

It is false in the name of history because "India" never was, and never would be, the "Muslim Motherland." To believe otherwise is the acme of absurdity which betrays only their ignorance of the verities of the Millat's life.

It is fatal in the name of safety because, in view of all the constitutional canons and political criteria, past experiences and future prospects, to accept the territorial unity of "India" is to fasten the tyrannical yoke of "Indianism" on the Millat. This is the "writing on the wall" for us all.

For heaven's sake, let them remove their blinkers and open their eyes. The issue is crystal-clear and admits only of a clear-cut answer. Either they are "Indian" or they are not. If they are, let them be consistent and live in, and abide by, "India." That is, embrace "Indianism" and submit to "Pax-Indica." A capitulation which the Jati will welcome but the Millat will oppose, and History will record as "Boabdalism." If they are not, let them be conclusive and abandon "India." That is, live to sever all ties with "India," to save the Millat from "Indianism," and to serve "Pax-Islamica." A stand which the Jati will oppose, but the Millat will support, and History will acclaim as "Mujahidism."

The Movement and the Millat

This is not to ignore the significant change which, thanks to the inspiring message of the Pakistan National Movement, has, slowly but surely, come over the policies and programmes of most of the Muslim Institutions. Nor is it to overlook the remarkable fact that these institutions have now definitely adopted the "Bi-national Basis" which,

since 1933, the Movement has persistently put before the Millat. On the contrary. It is simply to impress upon them the solemn truth that "Bi-nationalism" being only the first half of the "Movement's Fundamental Creed," they must, if they are in earnest, adopt also the other half—the "de-Indianisation" of the Millat's territories. For only by its full adoption can the Millat be saved.

The Movement and its Fundamental Creed

What is the "Fundamental Creed" of the Movement? It is that we are Muslim, not Hindoo; Pakistani, not Hindoostani; and Asian, not "Indian"; that, in retrospect, the "India of to-day" is the "South Asia of yesterday," but, in prospect, the sphere of the individual solidarity of several nations of to-morrow; that, at present, "India" is the arbitrary name of the British Empire in South Asia, but, in future, it will be the natural designation of "Indianism," confined to its national home in India proper (Hindoostan); that as this Empire is composed of several countries of South Asia, of which India (Hindoostan) is only a minor unit, no system of government, whether inspired by the Gladstonian soul of British Imperialism or by the Gandhian spirit of Indian nationalism, or by the grasping capitalism of both, can ever succeed unless it recognises, and guarantees, the distinct nationhood of the nations living therein; and, finally, that, in so far as we are concerned, we will accept only that political solution which is based upon the aforesaid eternal verities—verities which inspire the "Creed of the Movement" and ensure the sovereign status of Pakistan, of Bengal, and of Usmanistan.

This is the fundamental creed of the Pakistan National Movement. It springs from the eternal truths of history, respects the freedom of the other nations in the Sub-continent, and promises us our deliverance, defence, and destiny. If we are true to our mission, we must accept it in entirety, get it irrevocably fixed in our minds, and make it the soul of our political philosophy, the steel of our political strategy, and the slogan of our political struggle.

How To Do It?

That raises the question of its practical application and, thus, brings us to the crux. Let us face it with courage and conviction. Here the most important thing to remember is that, in the law of Nature, "inner realisation" always precedes "outer recognition." This is absolute. To it there are no exceptions. It is, therefore, most essential that before

we can expect others to recognise "the Fundamental Creed" we must first realise it ourselves. That is, act upon it in thought, in word, and in deed.

For that alone will revive our Milli spirit, recreate our Milli front, and reveal to our mind's eye that "Indianism" is the greatest menace to our national existence; and that, to meet and to master it, we must put first things first and make sure of our foundations. If the foundations stand, the whole edifice stands, but if they fall, then everything falls. Trite, but true.

What, then, are the political foundations of our heritage in the Sub-continent, the immediate safety of which will ensure the ultimate safety of the Millat?

Obviously they are Pakistan, Bengal, and Usmanistan.

I shall discuss them in this order.

Pakistan—1933

In regard to Pakistan, the whole world knows that, in 1933, the Pakistan National Movement took the historic steps of proclaiming, and demanding the recognition of, her separation from Hindoostan; that, thereby, it firmly laid the basis of defence of the 35,000,000 Muslims living in her five provinces—the Panjab, Afghania (North-West Frontier province), Kashmir, Sindh, and Balochistan; and that though, at the time, its action was strongly criticised and condemned, now it is fully acknowledged that, in doing so, it saved the cause of the Millat, changed the course of her history, and gave a newer and nobler direction to her future.

This, however, is only part of the story. For, as is well-known, Pakistan was merely the first step of the Movement towards its final objective, which is, and has ever been, the permanent defence of our entire Millat against the persistent dangers of "Indianism". Consequently, to this end, it has, in the past, been quietly working and calmly preparing the ground. And now that its work has borne fruit and made all parties conscious of the Millat's position—and its perils—it deems the time propitious for the next decisive step and, formally and publicly, calls upon the people to undertake the supreme task of saving Bengal and of strengthening Usmanistan.

Self-Determination in Bengal

Let us, take Bengal first.

To us, Bengal, with its hinterland of Assam, is "Bang-i-Islam," and must, therefore, be preserved as such for posterity.

Fortunately, as in Pakistan, so in Bengal we constitute a majority of the population. This fact is of mighty importance. It gives us the saving right of "Self-determination" which, in principle, none can question. History created it, "majority" confirms it, and destiny claims it. Yes, even the democratic doctrine of sovereignty—so favoured by the Anglo-Hindoo *entente*—concedes it.

So far, so good; but not good enough for our purpose. Because it is all "theory," not "practice." As we know to our cost, the practice is exactly the opposite. The Anglo-Hindoo *entente* has denied this right by reducing our numerical majority to a political minority, and our national status to the position of a "minority." Worse. To all intents and purposes, it seems determined to perpetuate the injustice underlying the present state of affairs.

This is one of the bitter fruits of our faults and follies, of our "doings, non-doings, and misdoings" in the past. It could hardly be otherwise; for when the Indians worked, struggled, and suffered to secure their rights, we just dreamed, babbled, and talked about them here as elsewhere. Again, when they sacrificed their careers in the cabinets, in the councils, and in the services for their cause, we simply compromised our cause itself for the careers of a few individuals in politics and in government posts. Is it any wonder then that to-day they possess more than their rights and dominate the whole Sub-continent; and we lose even our minimum rights and feel endangered in our own strongholds?

Such is the actual position to-day. Then, what of the future? The unescapable moral for the future is that our right of "Self-determination" in Bengal will have to be won anew; and that, to do this, we shall have to start and build up a national movement on the soil of Bengal herself.

This movement will serve as the symbol of our national status, as the standard-bearer of our national struggle, and as the rallying-point of our national forces. That is, it will itself first realise the right of "Self-determination," then declare it before the world, and, finally, prepare the people to work for its recognition by the Anglo-Hindoo *entente*. This is the foremost prerequisite of the success of our struggle for freedom in Bengal. With it we can achieve all; but without it, nothing.

Let no one make light of this counsel. It comes to us from the heart of our history. We must pay heed to it. It is indispensable to our being and well-being, both of which are in peril to-day.

To realise its full significance we must remember that our fall in the past was due not so much to our wickedness as to our weakness. Weakness in our national lands led to greater weakness throughout the Sub-continent and that, in its turn, caused an all-round disaster. It is, therefore, imperative that, in the future reconstruction of our people which now can only be in widely separated lands, we must take care to make every unit as firm in foundations, strong in structure, and self-sufficient as possible.

This is the wisest policy; but it is a policy which is only practicable if we have a national organisation in every national stronghold. Not otherwise.

So the creation of a Bengal national movement is the most urgent duty imposed by the fates upon the honour and patriotism of our leaders in Bengal. I devoutly hope and believe that, conscious of their solemn responsibility before Allah and His Rasool, they will at once discharge it in the highest spirit of their sincere professions of service to the Millat.

The hour is historic and so is the task. May they ever remember that upon their moral realisation and active fulfilment of this task, more than upon any other single factor, depends not only the immediate future of the thirty million Muslims living in Bengal, but, also, the ultimate fortunes of the Millat's mission in the whole of South Asia!

Sovereignty of Usmanistan

After Bengal, we turn to Usmanistan. Though a state, Usmanistan is a part of our patrimony; and, as such, her future is inseparably bound up with that of the Millat.

At the very outset of this discussion it is advisable to state the pivotal fact that we derive our right to Usmanistan from those canons of International law from which other nations deduce their claims to their domains; that this right includes her *de jure* sovereignty which is solemnly acknowledged in the treaties originally entered into between the British Government and the 'Ala Hazrat of Usmanistan, the "Faithful Ally"; and that this status is unique in the Sub-continent in that no other state enjoys it, in the same sense and to the same extent, as does Usmanistan.

These facts and factors constitute our title-deeds to Usmanistan. The question is, what use have we made of them for her good? Scarcely any, I should say; because, in the past eighty years, we have simply slept over them and left them exposed to the ravages of time.

Small wonder then that the sequel is now told in the sinister moves to make her participate in Indian life. It may be argued that these moves

are not coercive, but persuasive; that they are not arbitrary, but constitutional. My answer to that is that their character or complexion is not the point. The essential point is that they exist—and persist; and that should they ever succeed, Usmanistan would be lost for good.

What, then, is our defence against these moves? To answer this question we must first look at the calendar and realise that this is, after all, the year 1940. That should convince us beyond a shadow of doubt that the days are gone when we could have achieved satisfactory results through such petty manoeuvres of "reciprocal guarantees" and "political safeguards" within "India," as are popular in certain circles.

Surely now there is only one proper answer to this soul-searching question and only one permanent defence against these sinister moves, namely, a sustained constitutional struggle by the Usmanistanis for the *de facto* recognition of her *de jure* sovereignty. For only that recognition —and nothing else—promises security. The sooner we realise this, the better for us all.

Obviously to do this, we must have an organisation; because a struggle without an organisation is impossible. It has never succeeded and never will succeed.

It must, therefore, be stated plainly that if, in the bedevilled circumstances of to-day, Usmanistan is to be saved, the Usmanistanis must start an organisation to work for the *de facto* recognition of her *de jure* sovereignty by the British as well as by their presumptive heirs, the Hindoos—both of whom profess to be the most devoted supporters of the sanctity of international treaties.

This is the only way to safeguard Usmanistan and along it lies the greatest opportunity for the Usmanistanis. But the time to seize it is now; because, once gone, it may never occur again. May they seize it at once and turn it to their own good and to the greater good of Usmanistan!

Some Moral Truths

So much, in broad basic outlines, about the political defence of these countries. Now a word about their moral aspect, which, after all, has its own importance in the affairs of men—and of nations.

As we look at Bengal and Usmanistan from the moral standpoint, we find that both these countries are clear-cut territorial units, created by those eternal forces which make the entities, mark the identities, and mould the destinies of nations. That is why they have stood the test of time and have been treated as distinctive lands by the historians throughout the ages. And—more important—even to this day, they remain different

one another as South Asiatic countries, we must scrap the All-India Muslim League as such and create instead an alliance of the nations of Pakistan, Bengal, and Usmanistan. For this alone would set the final seal on our separation from "India," inspire the Millat, and impress the world as nothing else could.

That done, we would have stood the test and made the choice. We would have achieved the supreme unity of purpose, plan, and effort in our strongholds and given a new birth to our sacred cause in South Asia. And, then, inspired by the solemn conviction in our historic mission and united under the "Crescent and Stars," we would carry through our fight to final victory.

Hazrat! This is the only road to our destiny in Asia under Islam. Pray Allah we may take it while yet there is life—and light!

6

THE MILLAT AND THE MISSION

Seven Commandments of Destiny for the "Seventh" Continent of Dinia

The Pakistan National Movement,
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THE MILLAT AND THE MISSION

How to Fulfil It?

Seven Commandments of Destiny for the "Seventh" Continent of Dinia

Note

The statement, *The Millat and The Mission*, issued here in a slightly abridged form, inaugurates Parts III, IV, VI, and VII of The Pak Plan and embodies the answer of the Pakistan National Movement to the challenge of the current revolution to the future of Islam throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

So, ideologically, it constitutes a landmark in the struggle of the Movement and, actually, it ranks with the Declarations of Destiny that have made history. That is, "*Now or Never*" which, in 1933, introduced Part I of The Pak Plan to meet the crisis created by the Indian Federation Scheme, and "*The Millat of Islam and The Menace of Indianism*" which, in 1940, initiated Part II to counteract the renewed danger of Indian Nationalism to Muslim National life and liberty throughout the Continent of Dinia.

I. Avoid "Minorityism."
II. Avow Nationalism.
III. Acquire Proportional Territory.
IV. Consolidate the Individual Nations.

V. Co-ordinate them under "Pak Commonwealth of Nations."
VI. Convert "India" into "Dinia."
VII. Organize "Dinia" and its Dependencies into "Pakasia."

Pakasians!

For the third time within one lifetime the universe is passing through a revolution. Think about it. It is a revolution which is as much a challenge to the Millat as to the rest of mankind. For just as the first catastrophe shook the whole world to its foundations and the second shattered the fabric of its polity, this, the third, spells the re-construction of its very life.

Critical Period of History

So we must realize that we are living in a critical period of history and witnessing the events that will make or mar us for centuries to come. This is no exaggeration. On the contrary, it is the barest truth. For it is sun-clear that if even this time we repeat the blunder of thinking and acting in terms of persons, parties, and princes, all hope of our revival as a Millat will vanish. On the other hand, it is certain that if we think and act in terms of the Faith, the Fraternity, and the Fatherlands, we shall achieve the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia[1] and its Dependencies. That is the twin ideals that have been bequeathed to us by our ancestors, and the achievement of which is vital to both our history and our hopes in Pakasia.

Our First Duty

Obviously, therefore, in these crucial days our first and foremost duty is to seek instruction from our history and, in its light, try to save and secure our future. In other words, it is to review the consequences of the past revolutions, to pre-view those of the current one, and to prepare ourselves to cope with them at the earliest possible opportunity.

No doubt, this is an extremely difficult duty. It demands absolute devotion, creative work, infinite wisdom, and enlightened boldness. But this must not daunt us, for it is a duty that Destiny always assigns to

1 Like the designations of the territories mentioned on page one of the cover in the sub-sections I, II, and III of Section (A) of The Pak Plan, the names Dinia, Pakasia, Alam Islands, Ameen Islands, and Ashar Islands; Sikhia (Guruistan), Hanoodia, Hanadikia, Bangsamia, and Tekamia are the author's invention.

peoples like us who live to fulfil a mission in the world, and who are, therefore, eternally dedicated to its discharge. Indeed, for any nation, whether with or without a mission, to shirk it would mean suicide.

Let us, therefore, in this spirit of eternal dedication, try to do this duty and begin with the first revolution.

Sequel of the First Revolution

We know to our cost that the first revolution reduced our Fraternity from the position of a mighty force to that of a medium factor in the power-politics of the world. Further, it punished our Millat for the blunder of following "Dynasticism," of fraternizing with "Indianism," and of establishing a heterogeneous state in the Continent of Dinia. Furthermore, it eclipsed our nations in Pakistan, Bangistan,[1] and Osmanistan; extinguished our empire in Dinia; upset the equilibrium of Asia to our disadvantage as a people; and started a new cycle in the history of the world.

Small wonder, therefore, that at the end of this revolution, while our Pak nations were sinking into the obscurity of defeat and downfall, new ones were rising to eminence in the comity of nations; again, while our composite, ramshackle domains were crashing into the abyss of "Indianism," those of other peoples were developing into compact, homogeneous countries of independent nationalism; and, finally, while we were discarding our civilization even in our own Continent of Dinia, others were spreading theirs throughout the world.

Such, in a word, were some of the consequences of the first revolution to the Millat. Now we all know that nations, like individulas, learn from their mistakes and misfortunes. The question is, did we learn from ours? If so, what did we do to counteract them and safeguard ourselves against their repetition in the future?

Truth to tell, on this vital issue we outbourboned the Bourbons themselves. For not only did we learn nothing and forget nothing but, also, we did nothing. Thus for all practical purposes we let them affect the whole body politic of the Millat and compromise its hard-won heritage in all countries of Dinia.

So much for the first revolution.

1 Bangistan is the abbreviation of *Bang-i-Islamistan*, of which the root name, as originally announced by the author in 1937, is *Bang-i-Islam* for the combined territories of Bengal and Assam and *Bangsamia* for the Hindoo part therein.

Sequel of the Second Revolution

As to the second revolution, some idea of its outcome may be formed from the fact that, among other things, it further degraded our Fraternity from a medium force to a minor factor in the power-politics of the world, revived "Indianism" to an amazing degree, and, reducing the Millat throughout Dinia, broke up her social cohesion and turned her intelligentsia into a mass of wage-slaves and blind careerists.

So at the end of this revolution, while most other peoples in our position were re-integrating themselves into nations, we were dissolving our Millat herself into Indian castes and communities; again, while others were winning the recognition of their nationhood, we were losing the very remnants of our national entity itself; and finally, while others were rejoicing at the possibility of national "Self-Determination," we, were resolving upon an attempt at national "Self-Destruction."

From the point of view of our Millat such, in brief, was the sequel of the second revolution. Now when for the second time Fate deals harshly with a nation, it invariably arouses the nation to action. Did it do that in our case? if so, how did we cope with the sequel?

To put it bluntly, stricken as we were with the disease of careerism and cowardice, we resigned ourselves to the sequel, made it worse than before, and let it shadow our lives.

The Crisis of Indian Federation

And shadow it did. In ten years with the inevitability of a Greek tragedy it led to the most grievous crisis of our history. I mean the crisis of Indian Federation which nearly wrote the epitaph of our Millat in 1932, when our "Leaders" at the Round Table Conferences, succumbing to the pressure and persuasion of the Anglo-Hindoo *entente*, surrendered our 1,200-year-old national position, renounced our birth-right to distinct nationhood, and accepted the destructive nd dishonourable principle of the "Indianization" of our Millat throughout the Continent of Dinia.

Surely such a situation would make our dead turn in their graves. The question is did it stir us, their living descendants? If so, how did we react?

Initiation of Part I of The Pak Plan

Fortunately, for the first time since our fall—if not since the very foundation of our Millat in Dinia—we realized the true nature of our

peril, rose to the height of the life or death emergency, and reacted as the Millat expects her sons to react in times of supreme crisis.

Appearance of Pakistan

Since its details have already passed into history, it should be enough to say here that our reaction took the form of The Pak Plan, the first part of which was, on this occasion, initiated with a statement embodying our demand for Pakistan. That is the statement which was to save us from national self-destruction on the altar of "Indianism," safeguard our right to distinct national existence, mark the appearance of a de-Indianised Muslim country of nearly 35 million people, protect the heritage of the first three centuries of our history, inflict the first decisive defeat on the forces of "Indianism," and, last but by no means least, alter for ever the course of history of the Millat, of Dinia, and, I dare say, of Asia.

Such, thanks to Allah's dispensation, was the outcome of the first part of The Pak Plan—the part which was placed before the Millat in 1933.

To say that is not to claim that the initiation of this part meant the realization of our goal. Not at all. It could not. It is simply to assert that it meant the first stage of our march towards our goal—the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission in Pakasia. That is all. Otherwise when I drafted and issued this statement of 1933, entitled *Now or Never*, none realized more acutely than myself that the confusion and chaos which had for centuries been gripping the Millat throughout the Continent of Dinia could never be reduced to order at once; that it would take us some time to do it; and that before we could do it we should be prepared to suffer from it.

Renewed Danger of "Indianism"

And suffer we did and are still doing. For some years later, i.e., in 1940, the very same conditions produced an ugly situation. In that year, emboldened on the one hand by the bovine attitude of our "leaders" from 1933 to 1939 towards the demand for Pakistan, and on the other by its own long and laborious preparations, "Indianism" made a determined and desperate bid to avenge its defeat of 1933; to re-establish its old domination over us all; to mar the prospects of the demand for Pakistan; and to crush the new spirit of the Millat throughout the Continent of Dinia.

Initiation of Part II of The Pak Plan

Formidable though this bid was, it was nevertheless thwarted as had

been that of 1932. In fact we had been ready to foil it ever since that year. Since the way in which we did that forms part of contemporary record and is still fresh in the public memory, it is sufficient to say here that it was smashed by the second part of The Pak Plan, initiated with the statement: "*The Millat of Islam and The Menace of 'Indianism.'*"

Birth of Bangistan and Osmanistan

That is the part which embodied the demand for Bangistan and Osmanistan[1] and thereby signalized the deliverance of nearly 70 million Muslims, the rise of two more de-Indianized Muslim countries, the defence of the 700 years of our history, the second decisive defeat of the forces of "Indianism," and the broadening and deepening of the new course of history of the Millat, of Dinia, and of Asia.

Praise be to Allah, that was the result of the second part of The Pak Plan—the part which was placed before the Millat in 1940.

Again, it must be remembered that, memorable though the result was, it did not, and could not, mean the achievement of our goal. Not by any means. It meant only the second stage in our forward march. That is all. Naturally, therefore, when that was done, as before so on this occasion, we paused, we prayed, and we worked for the Millat to absorb the spiritual significance of this stage; to identify herself body, mind, and soul with its political atmosphere; to assess, in the light of the Movement's interpretation, the current developments including the reactions of the British, the Hindoos, and the Sikhs; and, above all, to prepare herself for the next stage of our march towards our goal.

Poised for the Next Step

So now, realising that this has substantially been accomplished by the Millat, we stand poised to take the next decisive step and to face the sequel of the revolution. That is the step which will take us much nearer

1 The old demand of the Pakistan National Movement for the *de facto* recognition of the *de jure* sovereignty of Ala Hazrat the Nizam, which is essentially based on the solemn treaties with him as a sovereign ally, is no more than a prelude to the national construction of Osmanistan by a voluntary exchange of her Hindoo population with Muslim population of the neighbouring regions. The Movement is convinced that only such a construction will help both the Hindoos and the Muslims. It will help the Hindoos because it will give them the right of self-determination. It will help the Muslims because it will enable them to secure Hyderabad-Deccan—the nucleus of Osmanistan — and transform her from an ephemeral, heterogeneous state into a homogeneous nation and powerful country. So it must be remembered that in this statement the references to Osmanistan are, strictly speaking, not to the existing Hyderabad-Deccan but to the Muslim national stronghold in South India which pertains to Part II of The Pak Plan.

our goal and the sequel which will turn out to be the profoundest in the history of mankind.

The Coming Sequel

I say the *profoundest* because it is as certain as anything can be in human affairs that when this revolution has run its fateful course, when its fires have died out, and when its smoke has cleared away, a new world will arise out of the ashes and embers of the old. That is to say, a world with its peoples and nations re-made, with its continents and countries re-mapped, with its seas and skies re-charted, and with its surface and subterraneous wealth re-distributed. Not only that. It will also be a world inspired by new principles and purposes, helped by new developments and discoveries of science, directed by new men and methods, and pledged to new tasks and triumphs.

Surely in such a world no nation can afford to remain static, and least of all we who have literally lost everything but recovered nothing; who have merely claimed the national integration and liberation of 70 million Muslims of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan but done not even that much for the 35 million Muslims in the Hindoo Majority Regions of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies; and lastly who, though committed to the liberation of even our neighbours, are ourselves in subjection in all the countries of Pakasia.

Challenge to the Millat and her Mission

This being so, can anyone deny that to our Millat and her Mission this new world—the sequel of the current revolution—will constitute the greatest challenge of all time—a challenge that may be summed up in the question:—

> *What position are we going to occupy in this new world, and what plans are we making to ensure that position?*

That is, are we going to be a unified Millat under Islam or an atomised mob under "Indianism"? Again, are we going to be homogeneous nations in the new de-Indianized countries of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan, or heterogeneous communities in the old Indianized regions of Dinia? Finally, are we going to win permanent national freedom for our 35 million Muslims of the Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and

Ceylon[1] by their national consolidation in seven Muslim countries of Pakasia, or abandon them for ever to the "Minority Community" slavery resulting from their present dispersal over no less than 15 provinces and 500 principalities of Dinia alone.

These are some of the implications of that soul-searching question which must now claim the interest of our people and command the attention of our politicians. For on our answer to it will depend not only the future of one-fourth of Islam but also the fate of one-fourth of mankind living in Pakasia.

Summons to Re-construction

In all conscience, therefore, we must realise that, at this critical stage of our history, the challenge of this revolution is a summons to us to re-lay the foundations of our political life and liberty, and to rebuild the edifice of our spiritual, national, and inter-national future in the continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. That is to say, to make sure that in future our re-construction is inspired only by the message of Islam, is planned only on the basis of "Millatism" and is built only with the material of the spiritual purity, the fundamental unity, and the national homogeneity of our people.

For in the new world that alone can ensure the rise and recognition of our nations in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan; the national unification and consolidation of our 35 million Muslims of the Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and Ceylon into the new countries of Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan; and the achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Initiation of Parts III, IV, VI and VII of The Pak Plan

That—and nothing less—is the supreme truth about the situation. Once that is realized, the conviction becomes irresistible that the time has come for us to take the next step forward and initiate Parts III, IV, VI, and VII of The Pak Plan; for only they can meet the challenge of the revolution and transform it into a charter of our re-construction.

1 The reasons for the inclusion of Ceylon in The Pak Plan are as follows: (1) Nature itself has made her part of the Continent of Dinia. (2) The British in their plans for the defence of the Continent have always treated her as part of Dinia. (3) The Hindoos in their schemes of national expansi have ever included her in "greater India." (4) The Ceylonese themselves have often discussed the desirablity of federating her with Dinia. (5) The Muslim rights to her date from the time of Hazrat Adam.

Seven Commandments of Destiny

So inspired by this conviction and acting in the name of the Pakistan National Movement, I place before my Millat these four parts of The Pak Plan which, for the sake of clarity, are set out below in a seven-point-programme. That is a programme, each point of which being as important as a commandment of Destiny demands the utmost devotion of us all.

I. Avoid "Minorityism." "Minorityism" means the problem created by those religious, racial, or political minorities which possess an active consciousness of their own nationality and consequently oppose their inclusion in, or assimilation by, another nation or state.

It is a notorious fact that, since the rise of "Nationalism," such minorities have done greater harm to the nations concerned than ever before and that, therefore, most of the nations for their own safety, are trying to get rid of them by exchange, expulsion, or segregation. Yet, strangely enough, there are still found people who want to keep and coerce them in the hope that, though to-day the protesting citizens of the state, to-morrow they will become the contented, if not proud, members of the nation.

Surely that is a pure wish-thought—and a dangerous one at that. The fact is that, in the present period of the world's history, the minorities would not do that if they could, and could not if they would. For their separate—and sullen—existence as minorities interests all the enemy-nations of the wish-thinkers. And these nations see to it that, whatever the situation, the minorities live rather as "fifth-columnists" than as loyal citizens.

This being so, on the issue of minorities we should follow not the dangerous dreams of wish-thinkers, but only the fundamental truth born of historical experience.

What is the fundamental truth about minorities?

It is that there are times when minorities are the heralds of their original nations, and others when they are the symbols of their helplessness. Again, there are times when nations can fully assimilate minorities, and others when minorities can fatally sabotage such nations. Finally, there are times when to leave your minorities in foreign lands, or to keep alien minorities in your own lands, is a sound policy, and others, when to do either, is childish folly; also, when to do neither is saving statesmanship, but when to do both is sure suicide.

It is this last contingency which concerns us in the current phase of our life and calls upon us to remember that, in the past, "Minorityism" has ever proved itself a major enemy of our Millat; that at present it is sabotaging us religiously, culturally, and politically even in our national lands; and that, in the future, it would destroy us throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Hence the Commandment: Avoid "Minorityism," which means that we must not leave our Minorities in Hindoo lands, even if the British and Hindoos offer them the so-called constitutional safeguards. For no safeguards can be a substitute for nationhood which is their birth-right. Nor must we keep Hindoo and/or Sikh Minorities in our own lands, even if they themselves were willing to remain with or without any special safeguards. For they will never be of us. Indeed, while in ordinary times they will retard our national re-construction, in times of crisis they will betray us and bring about our re-destruction.

That is the gist of the Commandment. It may be expanded into the factual statement that

(*a*) To leave our Minorities in Hindoo lands is:—

(1) To leave under Hindoo hegemony 35 million Muslims who form no less than 1/3 of the whole Millat, which in her struggle for freedom has no allies in the Continent.

(2) To deny their resources to the cause of the Millat at a time when she needs the maximum contribution of every one of her sons and daughters.

(3) To devote their lives and labours to the cause of the Hindoo Jati. Those people who argue that an equal number (35 million) of Hindoo and Sikh Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan will be working for the Millat overlook the fact that the work of one can never compensate for that of the other.

(4) To expose them, generation after generation, to the de-nationalizing influences of "Indianism," which ever has been and ever will be after absorbing us all in its own system and society.

(5) To forget the tragic fate that overwhelmed our minorities which—in more favourable times than these and with better guarantees than now possible—we left in Sicily, Italy, France, Portugal, Spain, Austria, and Hungary. Where are they now? To ask that question is to answer it in the most poignant terms.

(*b*) To keep Hindoo and/or Sikh Minorities in our own lands is:—

(1) To keep in Muslim lands 35 million Hindoos and Sikhs who form no more than 1/8 of the total strength of the forces opposing the Millat in the Continent of Dinia.

(2) To condemn to permanent servitude our 35 million brethren living in Hindoo Dinia, i.e., outside Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan. The reason is that unless and until we accept this commandment we cannot liberate them from the domination of "Indianism." To realise their true importance to both the Millat and the Fraternity we must remember that in numbers these 35 millions represent two Turkeys, more than two Irans, three Afghanistans, ten Iraqs, eighteen Syrias, or twenty Palestines.

(3) To expose our civilization to those Indian influences which seriously undermined it in the past but would completely annihilate it in the future.

(4) To perpetuate our subjection to "Imperialism" which thrives on "Minorityism" and makes "Minorityism" live on, and for, itself (Imperialism). That is why the super and sub-agents of British Imperialism—the Congressites and the Leaguers respectively—are trying to keep all the countries of the Continent of Dinia full of minorities, whether or not Dinia is partitioned between its nations. These worthies are encouraging both the simple-minded Muslims and the hare-brained Hindoos in the fatal notion that by keeping the other's minorities in their strongholds they will be able to lord it over them.

(5) To forget even the unforgettable lesson taught to us by the disappearance of our own Pak Empire and of the Turkish Empire, namely, that one of the major causes of their decline, defeat, and downfall was the treachery and treason of their religious, racial, or political minorities.

Such is the fundamental and the factual truth about minorities. In its light I feel bound to declare that:—

(A) From the point of view of our immediate interests, to leave 1/3 of the Millat under Hindoo hegemony in the seven Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies in exchange for 1/8 of the Jati under Muslim supremacy in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan will be an act not of sanity but of insanity.

(B) From the point of view of our interim policy, to prepare the

Muslim Minorities to remain in the Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies and to persuade the Hindoo and Sikh Minorities to stay in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan will be an act not of fidelity but of treachery to the Millat.

(C) From the point of view of our ultimate purposes, to compromise with "Minorityism" will lead not to an eternal triumph but to irreparable tragedy for the Millat.

So, in the end, our direct or indirect acceptance of "Minorityism" will mean not the recognition of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan but the rejection of them; not the birth of Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan but the miscarriage of all hope of them; not the conversion of the Sub-continent of India into the Continent of Dinia but its confirmation as the country of India; and not the organization of Dinia and its Dependencies into Pakasia but the reformation of India and its Dependencies into Indasia.

This being so, we must all bear in mind the above truth and avoid "Minorityism." For that is the master-lesson of History and to forget it is to forget the secret of our deliverance, of our defence, and of our destiny as a Millat.

II. Avow Nationalism. This Commandment is complementary to the previous one and means that we must assert, and demand the recognition of, the distinct national status of our Minorities in the Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies, and reciprocally offer to give similar status to the Hindoo and Sikh Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.

The Commandment is inspired by the truth that nationhood is to people what majority or manhood is to individuals. That is, it marks their coming of age, their realisation of the elementary status as a people, and their assumption of the essential obligations of that status. It is also prompted by the historical fact that in practice whatever work the minorities may be able to do for others, they can do precious little for themselves, at any rate when they are so dispersed as ours are. The result is that their position remains one of permanent subjection, involving every certainty of their living and dying for others, but no possibility of their redeeming themselves.

Undoubtedly, therefore, their salvation lies in "Nationhood," which we must demand for our Minorities in the Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies, and do that in the assurance that whatever the result it can do nothing but good to the Millat. The reason is that,

if the British and the Hindoos accept our demand, it will liberate our 35 million brethren now caged in Hindoostan (the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh), Bihar and Orissa, the Central Provinces, Bundhelkhand and Malwa, Rajistan, the Bombay Presidency and South India, Western Ceylon, and Eastern Ceylon; transform them into seven nations; free Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan from the dangers of "Minorityism"; and, above all, ensure the spiritual purity, the fundamental unity, and the national homogeneity of the Millat.

On the other hand, if the British and the Hindoos do not agree, it will at least put on record the right to nationhood of our 35 million brethren; register our protest against their "Indianization;" improve our bargaining position in regard to Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan; and render a lasting service to the cause of freedom of all nations in the Continent.

It is true that, until 1940, there were colossal difficulties in the way of making such a demand for our minorities, but now they have been removed by the Sikh claim to separate national status in Pakistan. So we must make the most creative use of this claim and, on the principle of proportional territory, offer to meet it—as met it can be—in the area of the three Sikh states of Patiala, Nabha, and Jind, on the absolute condition that our demand for similar status for our Minorities in the seven Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies (Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan) is met simultaneously by the supporters of the Sikhs, i.e. the British and the Hindoos who, by holding out the threat of the Sikh claim, have throughout the past 85 years tried to stifle our aspirations.

Need one add that this demand for seven states for our Minorities will constitute as historic and answer to the Sikh claim to separate nationhood in Pakistan as was "Pakistan" in 1933 and "Bangistan and Osmanistan" in 1940 to the Hindoo claim to the whole Continent of Dinia.

Let it, therefore, be realized, by all Muslim political parties, including the All-India Muslim League, that for us to deal with the Sikh claim in the way the Hindoos dealt with ours is to court the Hindoo fate, i.e. twelve centuries of subjection; that new situations can be met not by destructive criticism, but only by constructive action; and that of the present aspirants to the great and glorious prize of Dinia it will ultimately go to the nation that is the first to achieve her spiritual purity, fundamental unity, and national homogeneity and build her future on their solid and secure foundations.

Allah willing, that nation will be the Millat, the nation of nations, which is accepting The Pak Plan, born of the eternal truths of the Faith, Fraternity, and Fatherland; and rejecting the de-nationalizing scheme born of the fallacies of "Indianism."

III. Acquire Proportional Territory to create Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan. To say that land is to nations what homes are to individuals and fields to farmers is to do no more than direct attention to the elemental truth that it is land that makes their fatherlands, sustains their physical life, and symbolises their wealth, prestige, and power; and that, therefore, they ever fight to acquire it, to keep it, and to pass it on to their posterity.

Hence the Commandment which means that we should acquire our share of the territories of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies and convert it into countries for our nations.

Now in the Orbit of Pakasia we form about one-fourth of the total population and, according to the laws of Nature and nations, are entitled to about one-fourth of its area. Out of this we shall get in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan[1] about 325,000 square miles—after giving the Hindoo and Sikh Minorities their proportional share of the area of these lands. So, roughly speaking, the area we shall actually receive in Pakistan, Bangistan and Osmanistan will be about 75,000 square miles less than that which is really due to us. It is the acquisition of this area and its conversion into Muslim countries that are made our obligation by the Commandment.

The only way to meet that obligation is to claim the proportional area for our Minorities in the Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and its Dependencies on the assurance of reciprocity to the Hindoo and/or Sikh Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan. For instance, in Hindoostan (the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh) our Minority forms about 15 per cent. of the population and we are, therefore, entitled to 15 per cent. of her area. That is about 17,000 square miles, which we must acquire and convert into Haideristan. To appreciate the true importance of our share of Hindoostan we must remember that, in terms of our Mission, it is invaluable; and, in terms of space, it is nearly one and a half times the area of Albania, and twice that of Palestine.

In the same way, the proportional areas for our Minorities in the Central Provinces, Bundhelkhand and Malwa, Bihar and Orissa, Rajistan, the Bombay Presidency and South India, Western Ceylon, and Eastern Ceylon must be claimed and converted into our new national countries of Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan respectively.

[1] It is estimated that, after the preliminary construction of Osmanistan on national basis by voluntary exchange of population, a minority of some three million Hindoos will for a time be left within her boundaries.

It is clear that only thus can we get our full share of the area of the Continent and also found national homes for our Minorities in Hindoo Dinia and Ceylon, where their position, already precarious, is bound to become perilous in the future. It is true that while some of these "National Homes" will be quite sizeable strongholds, others will be no more than footholds; but in this connection we must remember two things. First, that so far as the size of these strongholds is concerned, it will be proportional to our numbers in every region; and second, that, so far as our security is concerned, to be free in our own national footholds is better than to be slaves in alien lands.

We must, therefore, press our claim to the proportional areas in all such regions of the Continent—and do so without delay. For, the times are changing and to leave things as they are is not only to leave our 35 million brethren helpless and homeless in Hindoo Dinia and Ceylon, but also to forfeit the right to 75, 000 square miles of territory which forms an integral and inalienable part of the heritage of the Millat.

It should be clearly understood that, our total strength being only one-third of that of the Hindoos, The Pak Plan on the issue of the situation of the territory to be acquired or to be allotted is inspired by the supreme consideration of the spiritual and strategical security of the Millat, without being unfair to the other parties concerned.

This means that, as owing to our dispersal all over the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies we cannot, in the present circumstances, consolidate ourselves in less than ten countries and, therefore, cannot help splitting our Millat into ten units, we must take care that the proportional areas (for the minorities) in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan are allotted, where possible, as enclaves. For that alone will give us the compensating advantage of, first, keeping separate the Hindoos and the Sikhs and their areas from one another and, secondly, of keeping the Hindoo minority proportional area just as separate from their main strongholds as ours—Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan—will be from Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.

Obviously, to act otherwise would be a folly of the first order. For, while it would divide us (105 million) and our lands into ten units, it would unite into a solid mass all the 300 million Hindoos and Sikhs and their areas in Dinia.

Against this some non-Muslims might say that the Hindoo and Sikh Minorities' areas within our lands would mean for them not countries but concentration camps, which we could liquidate at our convenience;

or that at best they would resemble those beleaguered forts which could easily be starved into surrender.

Let it, therefore, be stated here that we are inspired by no such motive at all; that the situation of the Hindoo Minorities' proportional areas in our national lands would merely be similar to that of our own Minorities' proportional areas in the Hindoo national lands; and that the development of aviation has, once and for all, solved the problem of the communications of land-locked countries with the world.

IV. Consolidate the Individual Nations. The dispersal of a people being another name for its disintegration, it is true to say that whatever work they may do for, or against, others, dispersed minorities cannot do much for themselves. The consequence is that their basic position remains one of permanent subjection to the majorities in their countries.

Hence the Commandment which means that as it is dangerous to leave dispersed our Minorities in the Hindoo Majority Regions of Dinia and in Ceylon, we must unify and consolidate them as nations in the countries that will comprise the proportional areas acquired under the previous commandment. That is, the countries which, for spiritual, historical, and national reasons, I have named Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan.

The sooner we realize that such unification and consolidation is vital to their national honour and existence, the better for us all. For in the past thirteen centuries nothing has done us greater harm than our blindness to this obvious truth which should always have guided our policy in the Continent of Dinia.

In any case, we must remember that in future we cannot afford to take risks at all and that, therefore, we must begin to carry out the Commandment by attending at once to the moral and political consolidation of these nations. That is to say, from now onwards we must always treat them in thought, in word, and in action as nations equal in importance and in status to the Pak nation herself. For if we do not, no one else will. Indeed, the probability is that, despite our best efforts, our opponents will still do what they can to let them be never more than minority communities or sub-nationalities, just as they are trying to whittle down Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan to the level of the regions—if not the provinces—of "India."

Forewarned is forearmed. Let us see to it that we do not play the enemy's game by referring to our nations and countries as parts or zones

of Pakistan. For one thing, they are not parts of Pakistan but her equals; and, for another, to speak of them as parts of Pakistan is in effect (1) to renew the fatal policies of the All-India Muslim League which for thirty five years spoke of, and treated, the Millat as one of the minority communities of the "Indian Nation"; (2) to use the dangerous phraseology of the President of the League, who still refers to "India" as the "Common Mother Country" of both the Hindoos and the Muslims; (3) to bring down our nations to the position of the sub-nationalities and our countries to that of the provinces or regions of "India"; and (4) to sabotage The Pak Plan which is the only hope of the rise of our Millat throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

V. Co-ordinate the Nations under a Pak Commonwealth of Nations. To us, the Pakasians, union is not only a source of strength, but also a sacred duty. For it is the very foundation of our Fraternity and we are enjoined to preserve, promote, and perpetuate it among our nations and countries.

Hence this Commandment which means that we must bring together in an inter-national organization at least our ten countries—Pakistan, Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, Maplistan, Safiistan, and Nasaristan. I say *must* for two reasons. First, for any nation to stand alone in the world is to invite aggression, if not annihilation; and, second, as our nations belong to one Millat, they sink or swim together. So, in the interests of both our national and our Milli security, they must unite and co-operate with one another in a Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

That is to say a Commonwealth which will inspire their purposes and integrate their policies, mobilise their resources and direct their activities to the common deliverance of all, to the common defence of all, to the common development of all, and to the common destiny of all.

It should be understood that the central object being co-operation between our nations in Pakasia, no sanctity attaches to the form of this institution. Indeed, if the nations like, they can make it instead a confederation or league of nations. Only, whatever they do, they must remember that a commonwealth gives the Millat all the advantages of a confederation or of a league without most of the disadvantages of either. For, constitutionally speaking, while the creation of a confederation is difficult owing to the lack of contiguity of the countries and the very conception of a league is fraught with the danger of its disruption, the core of a commonwealth not only is free from the difficulty of one and from

the danger of the other, but also assures the stability and success of the institution itself.

Furthermore, I should like to make it clear that, in designating this institution "Pak Commonwealth of Nations," I was inspired not by a patriotic sentiment of the superiority of Pakistan to other nations, but by the historical fact that in whatever country of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies we may be living to-day, we all are originally Paks; just as the Arabs whether in Arabia, in Iraq, or in Egypt, are still Arabs; and the British whether in Britain, in Australia, or in New Zealand, are still British. So it is this historical fact which I have tried to perpetuate in the designation of this Commonwealth which will be the real focus of the international solidarity of our nations and the living symbol of the fraternal unity of our Millat in Pakasia.

VI. Convert the Sub-continent of India into the Continent of Dinia. Like great men, all great nations have their own ideals for the service of humanity. Indeed, it will be truer to say that it is the ideals which make them great. For history clearly proves that they remain great only so long as they possess such ideals, live for them, and, if need be, die for them.

Now, so far as we Pakasians are concerned, our ideal since the seventh century has been the service and salvation of "India." That is the ideal to which we have already given more than thirteen centuries of struggle, suffering, and sacrifice; of which we have already accomplished the most difficult part; but which for its completion now imperatively calls for a renewal of our dedication.

Hence this Commandment which means that we must liberate the soul and the soil of "India" from the domination of "Indianism" into the domain of "Dinianism" and, thereby, restore her to her *original and rightful* position in the world.

So we must re-dedicate ourselves to our age-old ideal and, as a token of re-dedication, concentrate on three fundamentals. First, we must write "finis" to the most deceptive fiction in the world that "India" is the sphere of "Indianism." Second, we must record the most significant truth in the world that "India" is the domain of "Dinianism." And, third, we must proclaim the most solid fact to the world that the Sub-continent of India is the Continent of Dinia.

Let no one be surprised at these fundamentals. There is nothing fantastic about them. Indeed they are the most natural and logical expression of the history of "India" herself. For, after all, to begin with, was not India, "Dravidia;" because she was wholly inhabited by the

Dravidians? Then, ages after that, did not "Dravidia" herself become India; because, thanks to the extermination of the Dravidians by the Hindoos, she came to be almost wholly populated by the Hindoos? And, then again, in the eighth century, did not another epochal change take place in her life—a change which made her partly Hindoo and partly Muslim and, thereby, rendered the name "India" a misnomer?

Finally, owing to the events of the past thirteen centuries, isn't she now the domain of several religions, i.e. of Islam, Hindooism, Christianity, and Sikhism, etc.? If so—and it is so—does it not mean that just as a fundamental change in the character and composition of the people of "Dravidia" made her "India," there is no reason why a similar change in the character and composition of "India" should not make her "Dinia"? Indeed, it must. For, still to call her "India," i.e. the land of Indians or Hindoos, is to deny the existence on her soil of several faiths and their followers. Not only that. It is also to deceive the world, to damn posterity, and to distort history.

This being so, we must adopt the new designation—the Continent of Dinia, and thereby take the first momentous step towards the execution of the Commandment which down the centuries will have the active allegiance of our Millat until at last India is fully and finally converted into Dinia.

Before we pass on to the last, though by no means the least, commandment, three points should be noted about the new designation—the Continent of Dinia. (1) The term "continent" is inspired by the fact that Dinia is a huge land mass, divided off from Asia by stupendous barriers; and, therefore, like Europe, deserves to be called a "continent." (2) The term "Dinia" is composed of only the letters of "India." (3) Should non-Pak nations consider the term "Dinia" as exclusively Islamic as the term "India" is Indian or Hindoo, they can, instead of using the name "India," adopt for their own national purposes the term "Adiania" which means the land of religions; and, barring the first and the last letter "A," is like "Dinia" made up of only the letters of "India."

VII. Organize the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Orbit of Pakasia. This is the last Commandment and is meant to consolidate the results of the previous Commandments. We must, therefore, clearly understand that though, unlike the terms Arabasia, Australasia, Malayasia, and Caucasia, the term Pakasia has no racial significance; yet, like them all, it has both a cultural and a geographical connotation. Culturally, it connotes that part of Asia wherein our Pak culture is, actually or poten-

tially, predominant; and, geographicaly, it includes the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, i.e., Alam Islands, Ameen Islands, Safiistan, Ceylon, Nasaristan, Ashar Islands, and Balus Islands.

Thus to organize Dinia and its Dependencies into Pakasia is merely to recognize the truths and the trends of its history. I mean the truths that have sprung from the heroic deeds of our Millat and shaped the cultural entity of Dinia; and the trends that are created by the dynamic ideas of our Millat and are directing its (Dinia's) cultural future in the world.

This should inspire us all to perform the duty laid down for us by the Commandment. It is a duty in the performance of which lies not only the present security of the Millat's culture but also the future success of her civilization in Pakasia.

Protection of the Millat's Heritage

Such, in broad outline, are the seven points which initiate Parts III, IV, VI, and VII of The Pak Plan. It is obvious that they cover every interest of the Millat—*spiritual or strategic*, *of provinces or of states*—and thereby protect her whole heritage in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Prospects of the Millat's Ideals

I have called these points "Seven Commandments of Destiny" because in my solemn belief they are, like Parts I and II of The Plan, blessed by Allah and, *if followed faithfully*, pre-ordained to lead us within the next fifteen years to the achievement of Pakistan, of Bangistan, and of Osmanistan; before the end of the century to the creation of Siddiqistan, of Faruqistan, of Haideristan, of Muinistan, of Maplistan, of Safiistan, and of Nasaristan; and, in far less time than we took to build our present heritage, to the conversion of the Sub-continent of India into the Continent of Dinia, and to the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Orbit of Pakasia.

Call to Dedication

Pakasians! Such is the eternal promise, and such the ultimate prize. To us, the one is the assurance and the other the substance of the grace Divine. And, of us, both demand only the discharge of our duty to the Millat.

So, in this grave and solemn hour, when the revolution is entering its final phase and when a new world is dawning upon the horizon of History,

let us all say "*Labbaika*" to that saving demand and pledge ourselves to that sacred duty. That is, let us all bow before Allah and His Rasool, dedicate ourselves to the Seven Commandments of Destiny, and raise the banner of a struggle that will be the hardest, the longest and the greatest of all the struggles of our history.

For only that obeisance, that dedication, and that struggle will meet the challenge of the revolution and transform it into a charter of our re-construction, redeem the honour of our nations and restore their power, and ensure the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout Pakasia.

Long live the Faith!

Long live the Fraternity!

Long live the Fatherlands!

7

THE MILLAT AND HER MINORITIES

Foundation of Faruqistan for Muslims of Bihar and Orissa

The Faruqistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First issued.....15 March 1943.
Reissued.....5 February 1946.

THE MILLAT AND HER MINORITIES

Foundation of Faruqistan for Muslims of Bihar and Orissa

Note

The Statement "The Millat and Her—Minorities" pertains to Part III of the Pak Plan, which was formally inaugurated with "The Millat and The Mission" in 1942 and which deals with the future of the 35,000,000 Muslims who live in the Hindoo-Majority Regions of India and in Ceylon and other islands. In order to ensure their national survival, this Part proposes the creation of seven more Muslim countries:—Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan in the Continent of Dinia, and Safiistan and Nasaristan in Ceylon; and also the restoration to the Millat of the Alam Islands (Laccadive) in the Maplian Sea, the Ameen Islands (Maldive) in the Safian Sea, and the Ashar (Andaman) and Balus (Nicobar) Islands in the Bangian Sea.

In view of the present conditions in India and the world, the Statement stresses the need for immediate action for the creation of these countries and the restoration of these islands. To that end, it announces the foundation of seven national movements for these regions; namely, the Siddiqistan National Movement for Central India, Faruqistan National Movement for Bihar and Orissa, Haideristan National Movement for Hindoostan, Muinistan National Movement for Rajistan, Maplistan National Movement for Southern India, Safiistan National Movement for Western Ceylon, and Nasaristan National Movement for Eastern Ceylon.

Finally, it invites the Muslims in each of these regions to cooperate with their respective national movement, devote themselves to their national re-integration in their respective Fatherland, and so contribute to the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

CHOUDHARY RAHMAT ALI

MUSLIMS OF BIHAR AND ORISSA!

Mankind is on the march. It is moving over mountains of dead and maimed, through rivers of blood and tears, and across deserts of rubble and ruins. Indeed, it is entering a new era in history. That is, an era of change, of challenge, and of chance: of change of the old order, of challenge to the creative in man, and of chance for the reconstruction of life—national as well as inter-national.

Obviously this development is fundamental. It may even be called elemental. It is charged with the fate of centuries and civilizations. It foreshadows a revolutionary phase in the destinies of nations. It marks the beginning of the transformation of the world.

In view of that, the sooner we understand its full significance and scope, the better for us.

To do that we must comprehend at least one master-fact about it. This fact is that the new era has a message for one and all: for us in Bihar and Orissa as for other peoples in their lands; that, to benefit by the message, we must read it with the eyes of our Faith, render it in the terms of our Fraternity, and realize it to the lasting good of our "being and well-being" in Bihar and Orissa, I mean the provinces which are now included in India, in which we have lived for over a thousand years, for which generation after generation we have expended our treasure and shed our blood, and with which are bound up our future and fortune for all time to come.

Translated in the Islamic spirit of comprehension, what is the message of the new era for us?

To put it precisely—and politically—the message is that the time has come for us to provide our permanent defence against the mortal dangers that beset us in Bihar and Orissa. That is, the dangers which spring from our precarious position as a minority community, paralyse our national status, and menace our very existence in these provinces. In other words, it is a call to us to create in Bihar and Orissa our own Fatherland of Faruqistan and resume our place in the ranks of nations.

Such in content is the message. Clearly it is a message which, in the historical sense, can only be described as the supreme call of Fate. It awakens us to the grim reality of our position, offers us a rare chance to save ourselves, points us the way to take the chance, and promises us the preservation of our heritage.

In view of that, if we want to survive and revive ourselves as a nation—and that we most certainly do—we must attend to the message

immediately, take the chance faithfully, and lay the foundations well and truly of our homeland of Faruqistan.

How to do it?

So far as our choice of ways and means is concerned, we must know that in the embattled world of today there are no short cuts to national survival, let alone national revival in new countries. Indeed, there never were and never will be any. For survival has ever belonged—and ever will belong—to the fittest who can fight the longest and the best for it.

This is the law of Nature, and to Nature's laws there are no exceptions. That is why at all times and in all countries people had to fight to ensure their survival. So must we—and so will we. In order to be able to do that successfully, we must face three questions honestly, answer them fundamentally, and act up to our answers heroically. For only a sound position, sustained by supreme dedication, can save us and ensure the creation of Faruqistan, reinstate us in the comity of nations, and vindicate our national cause before history.

What are these three questions?

They are: Why create Faruqistan? How to create it? And when to create it?

Let us take them in the above order and begin with the first.

I. WHY CREATE FARUQISTAN?

To give our reasons for the creation of Faruqistan is really to state one of the supreme truths of history. This truth is that dispersal is the worst enemy of nations. It is even more dangerous to them than defeat itself. Because defeat degrades, it destroys. And no wonder. It is to the body politic what vivisection is to the human body. In other words, it is dissection; it is dismemberment.

This truth is all-fateful and calls for the fullest comprehension.

Let us first look at it in the light of general knowledge. It reveals to us the secret not only of the political rise and fall of nations but also of the physical life and death of peoples. It reminds us that where we live today in Bihar and Orissa, there down the ages have lived countless nations who one after another have gradually disintegrated and ultimately disappeared. Why? Because, in their ignorance, they suffered dispersal. It warns us that by remaining dispersed as at present we, in our folly, are inviting the grim fate of our predecessors and offering ourselves for slow but sure destruction.

Such is its instruction in the light of general knowledge. Now let us look at it in the light of personal experience, experience which is prover-

bially the best teacher.

It recalls to our minds that our Millat's greatness and glory was the ultimate result of our integration, unification, and consolidation. For it was the fullest concentration of the resources of our individual nations, which made her mighty, invincible, and irresistible; and enabled her to work for her Mission.

Secondly, it reminds us—and we do need reminding—that our Millat's tragedy of 1857 and her subsequent trials were the inevitable sequel of the dispersal of us all. For it was our dispersal which, more than anything else, broke up our Millat's twelve-century-old Continental Commonwealth, made her a minority community throughout the vast territories which had constituted that Commonwealth, left us all without even a home where we could retire to recover from our defeat, to re-organize our forces, and to resume our struggle; and which in the end tempted the Indians in 1932 to "Indianize" our whole Millat through the All-India Federation and thereby write "Finis" to her story in India.

Thirdly, it approves our work for national re-integration which we started with the foundation of the Pakistan National Movement in 1933; and as a result of which we have been able to meet some of the dangers of our Millat's dispersal in India, to frustrate the foul attempt at her "Indianization", to nullify the All-India Federation Act, and to create in 1933 under Part I of the Pak Plan the national cause of 35,000,000 Muslims in Pakistan and, in 1940, under Part II that of 40,000,000 Muslims in Bangistan and Osmanistan, and thereby lay the foundations of defence of 75,000,000 Muslims who until 1932 were helpless and homeless in the lands which they had served and saved for no less than twelve centuries.

Finally, it urges us to execute Part III of the Plan immediately. That is the Part which was formally inaugurated with "The Millat and The Mission" in 1942; and which proposes to stop the dispersal and to start the national re-integration of all Muslim Minorities in the Hindoo-Majority Regions of India, and in Ceylon and other islands. To that end, it calls for (a) the creation of seven more Muslim countries: Siddiqistan in Central India, Faruqistan in Bihar and Orissa, Haideristan in Hindoostan, Muinistan in Rajistan, Maplistan in Southern India; Safiistan in Eastern Ceylon, and Nasaristan in Western Ceylon; and (b) the restoration to the Millat's heritage of the strategically important, Hindoo-named but Muslim-peopled, the Laccadive and Maldive Islands, now known as the Alam and Ameen Islands, and of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, now termed the Ashar and Balus Islands.

Such is this truth which is graven on the tablets of history, inscribed on the tombstones of nations, and best taught by both the triumphs and the tragedies of our own Millat. Impressing upon us as it does the vital need for our own Fatherland, it deserves to be seared on our minds and memories, and demands to be acted upon immediately for the creation of Faruqistan. And act upon it we must—and we will—because we stand convinced that nothing can save us from national extinction in Bihar and Orissa except the creation of Faruqistan. That is, the Fatherland whose name springs from our Islamic share in the history and inheritance of Bihar and Orissa, symbolises our Islamic national status in the land of Bihar and Orissa, and stands for our Islamic hopes for the ultimate destiny of Bihar and Orissa.

This gives our answer to "Why create Faruqistan" and brings us to the next question.

II. HOW TO CREATE FARUQISTAN ?

The method and manner of the creation of Faruqistan must necessarily be determined by a reference to the fundamentals of the creation of countries, and to the conditions in Bihar and Orissa. If for the former we look into the records of history, we shall find that, throughout the ages, new countries have been created only by military conquest, spiritual conversion, mass colonisation, or partition of lands; and if for the latter we look at the realities of Bihar and Orissa, we shall realize that, for the immediate creation of Faruqistan, the first three of the historical alternatives being out of the question, only the last alternative is open to us. That is the alternative of the partition of territory.

This being so, we must adopt it and act upon it. That we can do with a clear conscience. For it is an alternative which is at once fair, feasible, and favoured by the comity of nations.

It is fair in the name of the immediate as well as the ultimate interests of both nations concerned—Muslim and Hindoo—because to both of us it gives the moral right of self-determination and guarantees the actual realization of that right in our individual shares of the territory of Bihar and Orissa.

It is feasible in the name of "practical politics", because it does not call for any convulsive change in the existing order of things in Bihar and Orissa. On the contrary, all that it demands—and that to the common good of both Muslims and Hindoos—is a more national and truly international partition of the territory—the territory which now, to the good

of neither Muslims nor Hindoos, is divided into two provinces, and so many districts.

It is favoured by the comity of nations in the name of historical experience, because wherever and whenever it has been tried for the solution of a bi-national problem like ours, it has invariably yielded wonderful results. It has put an end to the age-old conflicts which frequently caused civil wars, and thereby not only checked the general development of the peoples concerned but also endangered and, in some cases, even destroyed the peace of the world.

So, in view of its all-round suitability, we are not merely entitled but in duty-bound to avail ourselves of it for the purpose of creating Faruqistan.

So much for the principle of this alternative. What of the practical steps for putting it into operation?

It is plain that to put it into operation will constitute our greatest task. To accomplish this task we must do three things.

First, we must formally and finally reject the false and fatal conception of the historical, the national, and the territorial unity of Bihar and Orissa, repudiate our present position of "Minorityism", re-assert our age-old status of distinct nationhood, and, above all, prove our unshakable determination to re-establish and perpetuate that status in Faruqistan. This is indispensible to our success. We must make sure of it.

Then, on the basis of our population, we must claim our proportional share in the territory of Bihar and Orissa, and do so with a full conviction of the justice of our position, because we are prepared to satisfy reciprocally the similar claims of the Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan. This share we must do our best to acquire in that part of Bihar and Orissa where it will involve the least possible transfer of population, and where we shall be able to enjoy freely the rights and to perform fully the duties of our membership of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Finally, when this is done, we must, in the spirit of Islamic consecration, convert our proportional area into our fatherland of Faruqistan, and call for its recognition as a distinct country by the comity of nations.

That constitutes our answer to the second question: How to create Faruqistan, and leaves us free to deal with the last question.

III. WHEN TO CREATE FARUQISTAN?

In facing this question it is vital to remember that in this world there is a time for everything. This means that just as there is a time for

ploughing and sowing, so there is a time for founding and building nations or countries. Again, just as the time for the former is dictated by Nature, so that for the latter is determined by history. The moral of it all is that, whatever one's purpose, to ensure success one must do the right thing at the right time.

Admittedly that is axiomatic—and to none more so than to us, the descendants of campaigners, conquerors, and empire-builders. For we know that the triumphs of our ancestors owed much to their full realization of the vital importance of the time-factor to human undertakings and enterprises.

To state it here is simply to stress the fact that the most suitable time to create Faruqistan is here and now. And this for the following reasons:—

The making, the un-making, and the re-making of nations and countries is an eternal process—and purpose—of Nature. No power can stop it. No agency can sabotage it. Ceaselessly and constantly it has gone on from the beginning of time, and will go on to the end of time. That is as inevitable as any other action of Nature.

Now, so far as its actual working is concerned, History shows that, throughout the ages, it has invariably found its completion through wars, with the result that directly or indirectly it is wars which have made all nations and all countries what they are to-day. Mark my words. I say all nations and all countries. For, in Asia or Africa, in Europe or America, there isn't one single nation or one single country whose organic creation, whose human composition, whose territorial extent, or whose political position is not the direct or indirect result of wars.

Naturally, therefore, what is true of past wars must be true of the present war. This is running true to type and—even more fully than ever before—is throwing into the melting-pot the whole set-up of human affairs. That fact is as plain as it is profound. For gone into the melting-pot are all systems and civilizations, all brotherhoods and fraternities, all continents and countries. And, what is more, when the fires of war and revolution, now burning under the pot, have done their work, all the contents will go into new moulds to assume new shapes.

This means that, in due course, they will all be changed. The systems and civilizations will be re-constituted, the brotherhoods and fraternities re-fashioned, and the countries and continents re-made. Thus will be transformed some countries into counties and some counties into countries, some nations into communities and some communities into nations. And, in the end, will be changed the face and the fate of the whole world.

Indeed, all this does not lie in the future. Most of it relates to the present. For, whether we realize it or not, the fact is that before our eyes there is going on a re-interpretation of the philosophies of life, a re-integration of the peoples, a re-alignment of the nations, a re-construction of the countries, and a re-orientation of the policies and purpose of all in the world. In both hemispheres and in all continents, people with power are waiting for the opportunity to effect this global re-organization. They are waiting not with folded hands but with blue prints finished, with plans perfected, and with preparations completed. The moment the war ends—if not before—they will see to it that nothing remains the same; that everything changes.

Let us, therefore, make no mistake about it. In such a world India will not remain changeless. It can not, even if it will. For it is part of the world; it is a party to the war; and it is ripe for re-construction on new foundations. That is why its re-construction—territorial and international, political and constitutional—is being advocated by most of the parties concerned. Indeed, it is being discussed and determined by all. It is, therefore, no longer in cold storage. On the contrary, it is on the anvil, and there it is being actually hammered and shaped into form.

We could wish for nothing better. For our purpose this is the ideal situation. And it is about such situations that the Saracens said "Strike while the iron is hot—and polish it at leisure". That saying is packed with moral virtue and practical wisdom. It makes it crystal clear to us all that, in view of the present state of affairs in India and in the world, the time to ensure the re-construction of Bihar and Orissa is here and now; that the time for the re-construction of Bihar and Orissa is the time for the creation of Faruqistan; and that to let it pass by will be to miss an opportunity that may not recur for centuries.

This concludes our broad, basic statement on the questions raised by the message of the new era which is beginning in the history of mankind.

ACTION AND REACTION

Having made our fundament answers to these fateful questions, let us now turn our attention to the issue of the reaction to our action for Faruqistan. This is all the more necessary because all reaction won't be favourable. Indeed, it is certain that it will be mixed—devoted support from most of our own people, and determined opposition from other quarters. This is natural, it is inevitable.

We must, therefore, accept such reaction rationally and treat it with commonsense. In other words, we must do all we can to foster, consolidate, and make the best use of the popular support; and also to understand the opposition, answer it in advance, and defeat it in the end.

Study the Opposition

It is certain that active opposition to Faruqistan will come from two quarters; that is, the British Imperialists and the Hindoo Nationalists. It is possible that passive opposition may come even from the Muslim Leaguers, which, needless to add, will be more harmful than the active opposition of the Anglo-Hindoo Entente!

Be that as it may, our duty is to anticipate every kind of opposition, study it carefully, and face it confidently.

So far as the British Imperialists are concerned, they will oppose us because they believe their rule can last only as long as we and the Hindoos keep inter-mixed and, therefore, quarrelling among ourselves in Bihar and Orissa. That will be the motive underlying the British opposition.

The Hindoo Nationalists will oppose us because they think they can absorb us if we, as a minority, remain mixed with, and dispersed among, them in Bihar and Orissa. That will be the motive inspiring the Hindoo opposition.

The Muslim Leaguers may oppose us because, true to their tradition of careerism, they support a cause only if and when it can help their careers. That is why from 1933 to 1939 they didn't favour Pakistan and why in 1940 they adopted it. By then it had become so important that they thought they could exploit it to help their careers.

Such will be the motives prompting the opposition of these three parties. In view of that, we mustn't be surprised if, in the Leaguers' words about Pakistan before the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1933, they all dub the ideal of Faruqistan "chimerical and impracticable". In doing that, they might argue that we, the Muslims and the Hindoos, are so mixed up in Bihar and Orissa that we cannot possibly be sorted out as separate nations into separate regions; secondly, that even if that could be done, our population and area would be too small to create Faruqistan; and, thirdly, that even if Faruqistan could be created, it would be too poor a country to hold its own in the world. Finally, the Leaguers might hint that our struggle for Faruqistan would compromise the struggle for Pakistan and Bangistan, and that, therefore, we had better postpone it

until after the achievement of Pakistan and Bangistan which, they would argue, could by itself facilitate the rise of Faruqistan.

Frustrate the Opposition

Thus these parties will do what they can to argue us out of our faith in Faruqistan. But, knowing as we do the spirit and substance of their arguments, we should have no difficulty in meeting and defeating their opposition. The best way to do that is to adhere firmly to the fundamentals of our case, work devotedly for our cause, and before them, as before the world, take our stand on the following basic facts of national life:—

First, to be a small nation is better and more honourable than to be no nation at all. For nationhood is to a people what maturity is to an individual. Only its attainment can secure their existence, status, and honour in the world.

Secondly, to have a small homeland is safer and more honourable than to have no homeland at all. For no nation can grow to its full stature and preserve and develop its heritage without a homeland of its own.

Thirdly, the position of a nation or country depends ultimately on its spirit, not on its size. This is conclusively proved by the history of Greece and Rome, of Arabia and England.

Fourthly, we shall by no means be the smallest nation, nor Faruqistan the smallest country in the world. On the contrary, both the numerical strength of our nation and the territorial size of our fatherland—Faruqistan—will be larger than many a nation or state well established in the world.

Fifthly, we in Faruqistan shall by no means be alone in the world, because we will be in the fraternal company of at least nine other Muslim nations which will be co-ordinated under the Crescent in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Sixthly, never have people been considered too mixed up to be sorted out into separate national units. On the contrary, they have ever been sorted out if and when it has been found necessary to do so. This is proved by the fact that, even after the last war, both in Europe and in Asia, peoples far more mixed up—and far less distinct—than the Muslims and the Hindoos of Bihar and Orissa were sorted out, not only into separate nations but also into separate regions which ultimately became their separate countries.

Seventhly, our struggle for Faruqistan not only will not compromise that for Pakistan and Bangistan—and for the League-forsaken Osmanistan—but will positively help it, and therefore to postpone it will be a double tragedy. For we shall not only miss our last opportunity to create Faruqistan before the final reconstruction of India, but also do a grave disservice to the cause of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.

Follow the Examples of Ancestors

These facts sum up our case for Faruqistan. Indeed, they establish it. If we take our stand on them, we shall strengthen our position, weaken that of our opponents, and inspire our people to act in the spirit of our ancestors who, with small numbers and meagre resources, achieved wonders. I mean the ancestors who in the 7th and 8th centuries, despite the limitations of their human and material assets, devotedly worked for the cause, overcame all opposition, and succeeded in gaining first a toehold, then a foothold, and finally, a stronghold in India. Not only that. Unaffected by their successes and undaunted by their difficulties, they pursued their course, extended their struggle, augmented their numbers through the conversion of their enemies, won crowns and kingdoms all over India, and, in the end, left us all a heritage which is still the envy of the world.

That inspiration is all the more essential because today, as we set out to reclaim a part of that heritage which lies in Bihar and Orissa, theirs is the noblest example for us to follow. And follow that we must—and we will—with full confidence in our success. As we do so, let us be heartened by the fact that we have several advantages over them. First, our numbers and resources are far greater than theirs. Then, the opposition we face is nothing as compared with that which they encountered. Finally, our task is more modest than theirs, for it is limited to the creation of Faruqistan in that part of Bihar and Orissa which has been ours for over a thousand years and will be ours for all time to come.

MUSLIMS OF BIHAR AND ORISSA!

That is the truth of our cause and that the tradition of our ancestors. None can deny the one, and nothing can beat the other. Both stand supreme, and, given devotion, spell our salvation.

So, inspired by that truth and animated by that tradition, let us all face the new era, attend to its saving message, and take up the sacred cause of Faruqistan. For, remember, only the creation of Faruqistan can ensure our survival, restore us to our rightful place in the ranks of nations, and enable us to make our national contribution to the rise and recognition of the other nations of our Millat, to the conversion of the country of India and its Islands into the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, to the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia, and, above all—far above all—to the achievement of the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout that Cultural Orbit of Pakasia.

To proclaim and pledge my personal dedication to this sacred cause, I have raised the standard of Faruqistan and, to rally our patriots round it, I have founded the Faruqistan National Movement. I pray to Allah that He and His Rasool may bless the standard, help me to hold it aloft before the world, and enable me to hand it on to the patriots who will promise undying loyalty to the cause of Faruqistan!

For the glory of the Faith!

For the greatness of the Fraternity!

For the good of the Fatherlands!

8

THE MILLAT AND HER MINORITIES

Foundation of Haideristan for Muslims of Hindoostan

The Haideristan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

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THE MILLAT AND HER MINORITIES

Foundation of Haideristan for Muslims of Hindoostan

Note

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In view of the present conditions in India and the world, the Statement stresses the need for immediate action for the creation of these countries and the restoration of these islands. To that end, it announces the foundation of seven national movements for these regions; namely, the Siddiqistan National Movement for Central India, Faruqistan National Movement for Bihar and Orissa, Haideristan National Movement for Hindoostan, Muinistan National Movement for Rajistan, Maplistan National Movement for Southern India, Safiistan National Movement for Western Ceylon, and Nasaristan National Movement for Eastern Ceylon.

Finally, it invites the Muslims in each of these regions to co-operate with their respective national movement, devote themselves to their national re-integration in their respective Fatherland, and so contribute to the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

No Future without Fatherlands

Creation of Seven More Muslim Countries

Foundation of Haideristan for Muslims of Hindoostan

Build and Live—or—Wither and Die

MUSLIMS OF HINDOOSTAN!

Mankind is on the march. It is moving over mountains of dead and maimed, through rivers of blood and tears, and across deserts of rubble and ruins. Indeed, it is entering a new era in history. That is, an era of change, of challenge, and of chance: of change of the old order, of challenge to the creative in man, and of chance for the reconstruction of life—national as well as inter-national.

Obviously this development is fundamental. It may even be called elemental. It is charged with the fate of centuries and civilizations. It foreshadows a revolutionary phase in the destinies of nations. It marks the beginning of the transformation of the world.

In view of that, the sooner we understand its full significance and scope, the better for us.

To do that we must comprehend at least one master-fact about it. This fact is that the new era has a message for one and all: for us in Hindoostan as for other peoples in their lands; that, to benefit by the message, we must read it with the eyes of our Faith, render it in the terms of our Fraternity, and realize it to the lasting good of our "being and well-being" in Hindoostan. I mean the land which is now known as the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh, in which we have lived for over a thousand years, for which generation after generation we have expended our treasure and shed our blood, and with which are bound up our future and fortune for all time to come.

Translated in the Islamic spirit of comprehension, what is the message of the new era for us?

To put it precisely—and politically—the message is that the time has come for us to provide our permanent defence against the mortal dangers that beset us in the Gangetic Valley. That is, the dangers which spring from our precarious position as a minority community, paralyse our national status, and menace our very existence in Hindoostan. In other words, it is a call to us to create in Hindoostan our own Fatherland of Haideristan and resume our place in the ranks of nations.

Such in content is the message. Clearly it is a message which, in the historical sense, can only be described as the supreme call of Fate. It awakens us to the grim reality of our position, offers us a rare chance to save ourselves, points us the way to take the chance, and promises us the preservation of our heritage.

In view of that, if we want to survive and revive ourselves as a nation —and that we most certainly do—we must attend to message immediately, take the chance faithfully, and lay the foundations well and truly of our homeland of Haideristan.

How to do it?

So far as our choice of ways and means is concerned, we must know that in the embattled world of today there are no short cuts to national survival, let alone national revival in new countries. Indeed, there never were and never will be any. For survival has ever belonged—and ever will belong to the fittest who can fight the longest and the best for it.

This is the law of Nature, and to Nature's laws there are no exceptions. That is why at all times and in all countries people had to fight to ensure their survival. So must we—and so will we. In order to be able to do that successfully, we must face three questions honestly, answer them fundamentally, and act up to our answers heroically. For only a sound position, sustained by supreme dedication, can save us and ensure the creation of Haideristan, reinstate us in the comity of nations, and vindicate our national cause before history.

What are these three questions?

They are: Why create Haideristan? How to create it? And when to create it?

Let us take them in the above order and begin with the first.

I. WHY CREATE HAIDERISTAN?

To give our reasons for the creation of Haideristan is really to state one of the supreme truths of history. This truth is that dispersal is

the worst enemy of nations. It is even more dangerous to them than defeat itself. Because defeat degrades, it destroys. And no wonder. It is to the body politic what vivisection is to the human body. In other words, it is dissection; it is dismemberment.

This truth is all-fateful and calls for the fullest comprehension.

Let us first look at it in the light of general knowledge. It reveals to us the secret not only of the political rise and fall of nations but also of the physical life and death of peoples. It reminds us that where we live today in Haideristan, there down the ages have lived countless nations who one after another have gradually disintegrated and ultimately disappeared. Why? Because, in their ignorance, they suffered dispersal. It warns us that by remaining dispersed as at present we, in our folly, are inviting the grim fate of our predecessors and offering ourselves for slow but sure destruction.

Such is its instruction in the light of general knowledge. Now let us look at it in the light of personal experience, experience which is proverbially the best teacher.

It recalls to our minds that our Millat's greatness and glory was the ultimate result of our integration, unification, and consolidation. For it was the fullest concentration of the resources of our individual nations, which made her mighty, invincible, and irresistible; and enabled her to work for her Mission.

Secondly, it reminds us—and we do need reminding—that our Millat's tragedy of 1857 and her subsequent trials were the inevitable sequel of the dispersal of us all. For it was our dispersal which, more than anything else, broke up our Millat's twelve-century-old Continental Commonwealth, made her a minority community throughout the vast territories which had constituted that Commonwealth, left us all without even a home where we could retire to recover from our defeat, to reorganize our forces, and to resume our struggle; and which in the end tempted the Indians in 1932 to "Indianize" our whole Millat through the All-India Federation and thereby write "Finis" to her story in India.

Thirdly, it approves our work for national re-integration which we started with the foundation of the Pakistan National Movement in 1933; and as a result of which we have been able to meet some of the dangers of our Millat's dispersal in India, to frustrate the foul attempt at her "Indianization", to nullify the All-India Federation Act, and to create in 1933 under Part I of the Pak Plan the national cause of 35,000,000 Muslims in Pakistan and in 1940, under Part II that of 40,000,000 Muslims in Bangistan and Osmanistan, and thereby lay the foundations of defence of

75,000,000 Muslims who until 1932 were helpless and homeless in the lands which they had served and saved for no less than twelve centuries.

Finally, it urges us to execute Part III of the Plan immediately. That is the Part which was formally inaugurated with "The Millat and The Mission" in 1942; and which proposes to stop the dispersal and to start the national re-integration of all Muslim Minorities in the Hindoo-Majority Regions of India, and in Ceylon and other islands. To that end, it calls for (*a*) the creation of seven more Muslim countries: Siddiqistan in Central India, Faruqistan in Bihar and Orissa, Haideristan in Hindoostan, Muinistan in Rajistan, Maplistan in Southern India; Safiistan in Eastern Ceylon, and Nasaristan in Western Ceylon; and (*b*) the restoration to the Millat's heritage of the strategically important, Hindoo-named but Muslim-peopled, the Laccadive and Maldive Islands, now known as the Alam and Ameen Islands, and of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, now termed the Ashar and Balus Islands.

Such is this truth which is graven on the tablets of history, inscribed on the tombstones of nations, and best taught by both the triumphs and the tragedies of our own Millat. Impressing upon us as it does the vital need for our own Fatherland, it deserves to be seared on our minds and memories, and demands to be acted upon immediately for the creation of Haideristan. And act upon it we must—and we will—because we stand convinced that nothing can save us from national extinction in Hindoostan except the creation of Haideristan. That is, the Fatherland whose name springs from our Islamic share in the history and inheritance of Hindoostan, symbolises our Islamic national status in the land of Hindoostan, and stands for our Islamic hopes for the ultimate destiny of Hindoostan.

This gives our answer to "Why create Haideristan" and brings us to the next question.

II. HOW TO CREATE HAIDERISTAN?

The method and manner of the creation of Haideristan must necessarily be determined by a reference to the fundamentals of the creation of countries, and to the conditions in Hindoostan. If for the former we look into the records of history, we shall find that, throughout the ages, new countries have been created only by military conquest, spiritual conversion, mass colonisation, or partition of lands; and if for the latter we look at the realities of Hindoostan, we shall realize that, for the creation of Haideristan, the first three of the historical alternatives being out of the question, only the last alternative is open to us. That is the alternative of the partition of territory.

This being so, we must adopt it and act upon it. That we can do with a clear conscience. For it is an alternative which is at once fair, feasible, and favoured by the comity of nations.

It is fair in the name of the immediate as well as the ultimate interests of both nations concerned—Muslim and Hindoo—because to both of us it gives the moral right of self-determination and guarantees the actual realization of that right in our individual shares of the territory of Hindoostan.

It is feasible in the name of "practical politics", because it does not call for any convulsive change in the existing order of things in Hindoostan. On the contrary, all that it demands—and that to the common good of both Muslims and Hindoos—is a more rational and truly inter-national partition of the territory—the territory which now, to the good of neither Muslims nor Hindoos, is divided into two sub-provinces, and so many districts.

It is favoured by the comity of nations in the name of historical experience, because wherever and whenever it has been tried for the solution of a bi-national problem like ours it has invariably yielded wonderful results. It has put an end to the age-old conflicts which frequently caused civil wars, and thereby not only checked the general development of the peoples concerned but also endangered and, in some cases, even destroyed the peace of the world.

So, in view of its all-round suitability, we are not merely entitled but in duty-bound to avail ourselves of it for the purpose of creating Haideristan.

So much for the principle of this alternative. What of the practical steps for putting it into operation?

It is plain that to put it into operation will constitute our greatest task. To accomplish this task we must do three things.

First, we must formally and finally reject the false and fatal conception of the historical, the national, and the territorial unity of Hindoostan, repudiate our present position of "Minorityism", re-assert our age-old status of distinct nationhood, and, above all, prove our unshakable determination to re-establish and perpetuate that status in Haideristan. This is indispensable to our success. We must make sure of it.

Then, on the basis of our population, we must claim our proportional share in the territory of Hindoostan, and do so with a full conviction of the justice of our position, because we are prepared to satisfy reciprocally the similar claims of the Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan. This share we must do our best to acquire in that part of Hindoostan

where it will involve the least possible transfer of population, and where we shall be able to enjoy freely the rights and to perform fully the duties of our membership of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Finally, when this is done, we must, in the spirit of Islamic consecration, convert our proportional area into our fatherland of Haideristan, and call for its recognition as a distinct country by the comity of nations.

That constitutes our answer to the second question: How to create Haideristan, and leaves us free to deal with the last question.

III. WHEN TO CREATE HAIDERISTAN?

In facing this question it is vital to remember that in this world there is a time for everything. This means that just as there is a time for ploughing and sowing, so there is a time for founding and building nations or countries. Again, just as the time for the former is dictated by Nature so that for the latter is determined by history. The moral of it all is that, whatever one's purpose, to ensure success one must do the right thing at the right time.

Admittedly that is axiomatic—and to none more so than to us, the descendants of campaigners, conquerors, and empire-builders. For we know that the triumphs of our ancestors owed much to their full realization of the vital importance of the time-factor to human undertakings and enterprises.

To state it here is simply to stress the fact that the most suitable time to create Haideristan is here and now. And this for the following reasons:—

The making, the un-making, and the re-making of nations and countries is an eternal process—and purpose—of Nature. No power can stop it. No agency can sabotage it. Ceaselessly and constantly it has gone on from the beginning of time, and will go on to the end of time. That is as inevitable as any other action of Nature.

Now, so far as its actual working is concerned, History shows that, throughout the ages, it has invariably found its completion through wars, with the result that directly or indirectly it is wars which have made all nations and all countries what they are to-day. Mark my words. I say all nations and all countries. For, in Asia or Africa, in Europe or America, there isn't one single nation or one single country whose organic creation, whose human composition, whose territorial extent, or whose political position is not the direct or indirect result of wars.

Naturally, therefore, what is true of past wars must be true of the present war. This is running true to type and—even more fully than ever before—is throwing into the melting-pot the whole set-up of human affairs.

That fact is as plain as it is profound. For gone into the melting-pot are all systems and civilizations, all brotherhoods and fraternities, all continents and countries. And, what is more, when the fires of war and revolution, now burning under the pot, have done their work, all the contents will go into new moulds to assume new shapes.

This means that, in due course, they will all be changed. The systems and civilizations will be re-constituted, the brotherhoods and fraternities re-fashioned, and the countries and continents re-made. Thus will be transformed some countries into counties and some counties into countries, some nations into communities and some communities into nations. And, in the end, will be changed the face and the fate of the whole world.

Indeed, all this does not lie in the future. Most of it relates to the present. For, whether we realize it or not, the fact is that before our eyes there is going on a re-interpretation of the philosophies of life, a re-integration of the peoples, a re-alignment of the nations, a re-construction of the countries, and a re-orientation of the policies and purposes of all in the world. In both hemispheres and in all continents, people with power are waiting for the opportunity to effect this global re-organization. They are waiting not with folded hands but with blue prints finished, with plans perfected, and with preparations completed. The moment the war ends—if not before—they will see to it that nothing remains the same; that everything changes.

Let us, therefore, make no mistake about it. In such a world India will not remain changeless. It can not, even if it will. For it is part of the world; it is a party to the war; and it is ripe for re-construction on new foundations. That is why its re-construction—territorial and international, political and constitutional—is being advocated by most of the parties concerned. Indeed, it is being discussed and determined by all. It is, therefore, no longer in cold storage. On the contrary, it is on the anvil, and there it is being actually hammered and shaped into form.

We could wish for nothing better. For our purpose this is the ideal situation. And it is about such situations that the Saracens said "Strike while the iron is hot—and polish it at leisure". That saying is packed with moral virtue and practical wisdom. It makes it crystal clear to us all that, in view of the present state of affairs in India and in the world, the time to ensure the re-construction of Hindoostan is here and now; that the time for the re-construction of Hindoostan is the time for the creation of Haideristan; and that to let it pass by will be to miss an opportunity that may not recur for centuries.

This concludes our broad, basic statement on the questions raised by the message of the new era which is beginning in the history of mankind.

ACTION AND REACTION

Having made our fundamental answers to these fateful questions, let us now turn our attention to the issue of the reaction to our action for Haideristan. This is all the more necessary because all reaction won't be favourable. Indeed, it is certain that it will be mixed—devoted support from most of our own people, and determined opposition from other quarters. This is natural, it is inevitable.

We must, therefore, accept such reaction rationally and treat it with commonsense. In other words, we must do all we can to foster, consolidate, and make the best use of the popular support; and also to understand the opposition, answer it in advance, and defeat it in the end.

Study the Opposition

It is certain that active opposition to Haideristan will come from two quarters; that is, the British Imperialists and the Hindoo Nationalists. It is possible that passive opposition may come even from the Muslim Leaguers, which, needless to add, will be more harmful than the active opposition of the Anglo-Hindoo Entente!

Be that as it may, our duty is to anticipate every kind of opposition, study it carefully, and face it confidently.

So far as the British Imperialists are concerned, they will oppose us because they believe their rule can last only as long as we and the Hindoos keep inter-mixed and, therefore, quarrelling among ourselves in Hindoostan. That will be the motive underlying the British opposition.

The Hindoo Nationalists will oppose us because they think they can absorb us if we, as a minority, remain mixed with, and dispersed among, them in Hindoostan. That will be the motive inspiring the Hindoo opposition.

The Muslim Leaguers may oppose us because, true to their tradition of careerism, they support a cause only if and when it can help their careers. That is why from 1933 to 1939 they didn't favour Pakistan and why in 1940 they adopted it. By then it had become so important that they thought they could exploit it to help their careers.

Such will be the motives prompting the opposition of these three parties. In view of that, we mustn't be surprised if, in the Leaguers' words about Pakistan before the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1933, they all dub the ideal of Haideristan "chimerical and impracticable". In doing that, they might argue that we, the Muslims and the Hindoos, are so mixed up in Hindoostan that we cannot possibly be sorted out as separate nations into separate regions; secondly, that even if that could be done, our population and area would be too small to create Haideristan; and, thirdly, that even if Haideristan could be created, it would be too poor a country to hold its own in the world. Finally, the Leaguers might hint that our struggle for Haideristan would compromise the struggle for Pakistan and Bangistan, and that, therefore, we had better postpone it until after the achievement of Pakistan and Bangistan, which, they would argue, could by itself facilitate the rise of Haideristan.

Frustrate the Opposition

Thus these parties will do what they can to argue us out of our faith in Haideristan. But, knowing as we do the spirit and substance of their arguments, we should have no difficulty in meeting and defeating their opposition. The best way to do that is to adhere firmly to the fundamentals of our case, work devotedly for our cause, and before them, as before the world, take our stand on the following basic facts of national life:—

First, to be a small nation is better and more honourable than to be no nation at all. For nationhood is to a people what maturity is to an individual. Only its attainment can secure their existence, status, and honour in the world.

Secondly, to have a small homeland is safer and more honourable than to have no homeland at all. For no nation can grow to its full stature and preserve and develop its heritage without a homeland of its own.

Thirdly, the position of a nation or country depends ultimately on its spirit, not on its size. This is conclusively proved by the history of Greece and Rome, of Arabia and England.

Fourthly, we shall by no means be the smallest nation, nor Haideristan the smallest country in the world. On the contrary both the numerical strength of our nation and the territorial size of our fatherland—Haideristan—will be larger than many a nation or state well established in the world.

Fifthly, we in Haideristan shall by no means be alone in the world, because we will be in the fraternal company of at least nine other Muslim nations which will be co-ordinated under the Crescent in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Sixthly, never have people been considered too mixed up to be sorted out into separate national units. On the contrary, they have ever been sorted out if and when it has been found necessary to do so. This is proved by the fact that, even after the last war, both in Europe and in Asia, peoples far more mixed up—and far less distinct—than the Muslims and the Hindoos of Hindoostan were sorted out, not only into separate nations but also into separate regions which ultimately became their separate countries.

Seventhly, our struggle for Haideristan not only will not compromise that for Pakistan and Bangistan—and for the League-forsaken Osmanistan—but will positively help it, and therefore to postpone it will be a double tragedy. For we shall not only miss our last opportunity to create Haideristan before the final reconstruction of India, but also do a grave disservice to the cause of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.

Follow the Example of Ancestors

These facts sum up our case for Haideristan. Indeed, they establish it. If we take our stand on them, we shall strengthen our position, weaken that of our opponents, and inspire our people to act in the spirit of our ancestors who, with small numbers and meagre resources, achieved wonders. I mean the ancestors who in the 7th and 8th centuries, despite the limitations of their human and material assets, devotedly worked for the cause, overcame all opposition, and succeeded in gaining first a toehold, then a foothold, and finally a stronghold in India. Not only that. Unaffected by their successes and undaunted by their difficulties, they pursued their course, extended their struggle, augmented their numbers through the conversion of their enemies, won crowns and kingdoms all over India, and, in the end, left us all a heritage which is still the envy of the world.

That inspiration is all the more essential because today, as we set out to reclaim a part of that heritage which lies in Hindoostan, theirs is the noblest example for us to follow. And follow that we must—and we will—with full confidence in our success. As we do so, let us be heartened by the fact that we have several advantages over them. First, our numbers and resources are far greater than theirs. Then, the opposition we face

in nothing as compared with that which they encountered. Finally, our task is more modest than theirs, for it is limited to the creation of Haideristan in that part of Hindoostan which has been ours for over a thousand years and will be ours for all time to come.

MUSLIMS OF HINDOOSTAN !

That is the truth of our cause and that the tradition of our ancestors. None can deny the one, and nothing can beat the other. Both stand supreme, and, given devotion, spell our salvation.

So, inspired by that truth and animated by that tradition, let us all face the new era, attend to its saving message, and take up the sacred cause of Haideristan. For, remember, only the creation of Haideristan can ensure our survival, restore us to our rightful place in the ranks of nations, and enable us to make our national contribution to the rise and recognition of the other nations of our Millat, to the conversion of the country of India and its Islands into the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, to the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia, and, above all—far above all—to the achievement of the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout that Cultural Orbit of Pakasia.

To proclaim and pledge my personal dedication to this sacred cause, I have raised the standard of Haideristan and, to rally our patriots round it, I have founded the Haideristan National Movement. I pray to Allah that He and His Rasool may bless the standard, help me to hold it aloft before the world, and enable me to hand it on to the patriots who will promise undying loyalty to the cause of Haideristan!

For the glory of the Faith!

For the greatness of the Fraternity!

For the good of the Fatherlands!

9

THE MILLAT AND HER MINORITIES

Foundation of Maplistan for Muslims of S. India

The Maplistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First issued 15th March, 1943.
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Note

The Statement "The Millat and Her—Minorities" pertains to Part III of the Pak Plan, which was formally inaugurated with "The Millat and The Mission" in 1942, and which deals with the future of the 35,000,000 Muslims who live in the Hindoo-Majority Regions of India, and in Ceylon and other islands. In order to ensure their national survival, this Part proposes the creation of seven more Muslim countries:—Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan in the Continent of Dinia, and Safiistan and Nasaristan in Ceylon; and also the restoration to the Millat of the Alam Islands (Laccadive) in the Maplian Sea, the Ameen Islands (Maldive) in the Safian Sea, and the Ashar (Andaman) and Balus (Nicobar) Islands in the Bangian Sea.

In view of the present conditions in India and the world, the Statement stresses the need for immediate action for the creation of these countries and the restoration of these islands. To that end, it announces the foundation of seven national movements for these regions; namely, the Siddiqistan National Movement for Central India, Faruqistan National Movement for Bihar and Orissa, Haideristan National Movement for Hindoostan, Muinistan National Movement for Rajistan, Maplistan National Movement for Southern India, Safiistan National Movement for Western Ceylon and Nasaristan National Movement for Eastern Ceylon.

Finally, it invites the Muslims in each of these regions to cooperate with their respective national movement, devote themselves to their

national re-integration in their respective Fatherland, and so contribute to the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

No Future without Fatherlands

Creation of Seven More Muslim Countries

Build and Live—or—Wither and Die

MUSLIMS OF S. INDIA!

Mankind is on the march. It is moving over mountains of dead and maimed, through rivers of blood and tears, and across deserts of rubble and ruins. Indeed, it is entering a new era in history. That is, an era of change, of challenge, and of chance: of change of the old order, of challenge to the creative in man, and of chance for the reconstruction of life—national as well as inter-national.

Obviously this development is fundamental. It may even be called elemental. It is charged with the fate of centuries and civilizations. It foreshadows a revolutionary phase in the destinies of nations. It marks the beginning of the transformation of the world.

In view of that, the sooner we understand its full significance and scope, the better for us.

To do that we must comprehend at least one master-fact about it. This fact is that the new era has a message for one and all: for us in S. India as for other peoples in their lands; that, to benefit by the message, we must read it with the eyes of our Faith, render it in the terms of our Fraternity, and realize it to the lasting good of our "being and well-being" in S. India. I mean the Mapila lands which are now incorporated in India, in which we have lived for over a thousand years, for which generation after generation we have expended our treasure and shed our blood, and with which are bound up our future and fortunes for all time to come.

Translated in the Islamic spirit of comprehension, what is the message of the new era for us?

To put it precisely—and politically—the message is that the time has come for us to provide our permanent defence against the mortal dangers that beset us in Malabar and other lands of S. India. That is, the dangers which spring from our precarious position as a minority

community, paralyse our national status, and menace our very existence in S. India. In other words, it is a call to us to create in S. India our own Fatherland of Maplistan and resume our place in the comity of nations.

Such in content is the message. Clearly it is a message which, in the historical sense, can only be described as the supreme call of Fate. It awakens us to the grim reality of our position, offers us a rare chance to save ourselves, points us the way to take the chance, and promises us the preservation of our heritage.

In view of that, if we want to survive and revive ourselves as a nation —and that we most certainly do—we must attend to the message immediately, take the chance faithfully, and lay the foundations well and truly of our homeland of Maplistan.

How to do it?

So far as our choice of the ways and means is concerned, we must know that in the embattled world of today there are no short cuts to national survival, let alone national revival in new countries. Indeed, there never were and never will be any. For survival has ever belonged—and ever will belong—to the fittest, who can fight the longest and the best for it.

This is the law of Nature, and to Nature's laws there are no exceptions. That is why at all times and in all countries people had to fight to ensure their survival. So must we—and so will we. In order to be able to do that successfully, we must face three questions honestly, answer them fundamentally, and act up to our answers heroically. For only a sound position, sustained by supreme dedication, can save us and ensure the creation of Maplistan, reinstate us in the comity of nations, and vindicate our national cause before history.

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This being so, we must adopt it and act upon it. That we can do with a clear conscience. For it is an alternative which is at once fair, feasible, and favoured by the comity of nations.

It is fair in the name of the immediate as well as the ultimate interests of both nations concerned—Muslim and Hindoo—because to both of us it gives the moral right of self-determination and guarantees the actual realization of that right in our individual shares of the territory of S. India.

It is feasible in the name of "practical politics", because it does not call for any convulsive change in the existing order of things in S. India. On the contrary, all that it demands—and that to the common good of both Muslims and Hindoos—is a more rational and truly inter-national partition of the territory—the territory which now, to the good of neither Muslims nor Hindoos, is divided into several states, and so many districts.

It is favoured by the comity of nations in the name of historical experience, because wherever and whenever it has been tried for the solution of a bi-national problem like ours, it has invariably yielded wonderful results. It has put an end to the age-old conflicts which frequently caused civil wars, and thereby not only checked the general development of the peoples concerned but also endangered and, in some cases, even destroyed the peace of the world.

So, in view of its all-round suitability, we are not merely entitled but in duty-bound to avail ourselves of it for the purpose of creating Maplistan.

So much for the principle of this alternative. What of the practical steps for putting it into operation?

It is plain that to put it into operation will constitute our greatest task. To accomplish this task we must do three things.

First, we must formally and finally reject the false and fatal conception of the historical, the national, and the territorial unity of S. India, repudiate our present position of "Minorityism", re-assert our age-old status of distinct nationhood, and, above all, prove our unshakable determination to re-establish and perpetuate that status in Maplistan. This is indispensible to our success. We must make sure of it.

Then, on the basis of our population, we must claim our proportional share in the territory of S. India, and do so with a full conviction of the justice of our position, because we are prepared to satisfy reciprocally the similar claims of the Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan. This share we must do our best to acquire in that part of S. India where it will involve the least possible transfer of population, and where we shall be able to enjoy freely the rights and to perform fully the duties of our membership of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Finally, when this is done, we must, in the spirit of Islamic consecration, convert our proportional area into our fatherland of Maplistan, and

call for its recognition as a distinct country by the comity of nations.

That constitutes our answer to the second question: How to create Maplistan, and leaves us free to deal with the last question.

III. WHEN TO CREATE MAPLISTAN?

In facing this question it is vital to remember that in this world there is a time for everything. This means that just as there is a time for ploughing and sowing, so there is a time for founding and building nations or countries. Again, just as the time for the former is dictated by Nature, so that for the latter is determined by history. The moral of it all is that, whatever one's purpose, to ensure success one must do the right thing at the right time.

Admittedly that is axiomatic—and to none more so than to us, the descendants of campaigners, conquerors, and empire-builders. For we know that the triumphs of our ancestors owed much to their full realization of the vital importance of the time-factor to human undertakings and enterprises.

To state it here is simply to stress the fact that the most suitable time to create Maplistan is here and now. And this for the following reasons:—

The making, the un-making, and the re-making of nations and countries is an eternal process—and Purpose—of Nature. No power can stop it. No agency can sabotage it. Ceaselessly and constantly it has gone on from the beginning of time, and will go on to the end of time. That is as inevitable as any other action of Nature.

Now, so far as its actual working is concerned, History shows that, throughout the ages, it has invariably found its completion through wars, with the result that directly or indirectly it is wars which have made all nations and all countries what they are to-day. Mark my words. I say all nations and all countries. For, in Asia or Africa, in Europe or America, there isn't one single nation or one single country whose organic creation, whose human composition, whose territorial extent, or whose political position is not the direct or indirect result of wars.

Naturally, therefore, what is true of past wars must be true of the present war. This is running true to type and—even more fully than ever before—is throwing into the melting-pot the whole set-up of human affairs. That fact is as plain as it is profound. For gone into the melting-pot are all systems and civilizations, all brotherhoods and fraternities, all continents and countries. And, what is more, when the fires of war and

revolution, now burning under the pot, have done their work, all the contents will go into new moulds to assume new shapes.

This means that, in due course, they will all be changed. The systems and civilizations will be re-constituted, the brotherhoods and fraternities re-fashioned, and the countries and continents re-made. Thus will be transformed some countries into counties and some counties into countries, some nations into communities and some communities into nations. And, in the end, will be changed the face and the fate of the whole world.

Indeed, all this does not lie in the future. Most of it relates to the present. For, whether we realize it or not, the fact is that before our eyes there is going on a re-interpretation of the philosophies of life, a re-integration of the peoples, a re-alignment of the nations, a re-construction of the countries, and a re-orientation of the policies and purposes of all in the world. In both hemispheres and in all continents, people with power are waiting for the opportunity to effect this global re-organization. They are waiting not with folded hands but with blue prints finished, with plans perfected, and with preparations completed. The moment the war ends—if not before—they will see to it that nothing remains the same; that everything changes.

Let us, therefore, make no mistake about it. In such a world India will not remain changeless. It cannot, even if it will. For it is part of the world; it is a party to the war; and it is ripe for re-construction on new foundations. That is why its re-construction—territorial and international, political and constitutional—is being advocated by most of the parties concerned. Indeed, it is being discussed and determined by all. It is, therefore, no longer in cold storage. On the contrary, it is on the anvil, and it is being actually hammered and shaped into form.

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This concludes our broad, basic statement on the questions raised by the message of the new era which is beginning in the history of mankind.

ACTION AND REACTION

Having made our fundamental answers to these fateful questions, let us now turn our attention to the issue of the reaction to our action for Maplistan. This is all the more necessary because all reaction won't be favourable. Indeed, it is certain that it will be mixed—devoted support from most of our own people, and determined opposition from other quarters. This is natural, it is inevitable.

We must, therefore, accept such reaction rationally and treat it with commonsense. In other words, we must do all we can to foster, consolidate, and make the best use of the popular support; and also to understand the opposition, answer it in advance, and defeat it in the end.

Study the Opposition

It is certain that active opposition to Maplistan will come from two quarters; that is, the British Imperialists and the Hindoo Nationalists. It is possible that passive opposition may come even from the Muslim Leaguers, which, needless to add, will be more harmful than the active opposition of the Anglo-Hindoo Entente!

Be that as it may, our duty is to anticipate every kind of opposition, study it carefully, and face it confidently.

So far as the British Imperialists are concerned, they will oppose us because they believe their rule can last only as long as we and the Hindoos keep inter-mixed and, therefore, quarrelling among ourselves in S. India. That will be the motive underlying the British opposition.

The Hindoo Nationalists will oppose us because they think they can absorb us if we, as a minority, remain mixed with, and dispersed among, them in S. India. That will be the motive inspiring the Hindoo opposition.

The Muslim Leaguers may oppose us because, true to their tradition of careerism, they support a cause only if and when it can help their careers. That is why from 1933 to 1939 they didn't favour Pakistan and why in 1940 they adopted it. By then it had become so important that they thought they could exploit it to help their careers.

Such will be the motives prompting the opposition of these three parties. In view of that, we mustn't be surprised if, in the Leaguers' words about Pakistan before the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1933, they all dub the ideal of Maplistan "chimerical and impracticable". In doing that, they might argue that we, the Muslims and the Hindoos,

are so mixed up in S. India that we cannot possibly be sorted out as separate nations into separate regions; secondly, that even if that could be done, our population and area would be too small to create Maplistan; and, thirdly, that even if Maplistan could be created, it would be too poor a country to hold its own in the world. Finally, the Leaguers might hint that our struggle for Maplistan would compromise the struggle for Pakistan and Bangistan, and that, therefore, we had better postpone it until after the achievement of Pakistan and Bangistan which, they would argue, could by itself facilitate the rise of Maplistan.

Frustrate the Opposition

Thus these parties will do what they can to argue us out of our faith in Maplistan. But, knowing as we do the spirit and substance of their arguments, we should have no difficulty in meeting and defeating their opposition. The best way to do that is to adhere firmly to the fundamentals of our case, work devotedly for our cause, and before them, as before the world, take our stand on the following basic facts of national life:—

First, to be a small nation is better and more honourable than to be no nation at all. For nationhood is to a people what maturity is to an individual. Only its attainment can secure their existence, status, and honour in the world.

Secondly, to have a small homeland is safer and more honourable than to have no homeland at all. For no nation can grow to its full stature and preserve and develop its heritage without a homeland of its own.

Thirdly, the position of a nation or country depends ultimately on its spirit, not on its size. This is conclusively proved by the history of Greece and Rome, of Arabia and England.

Fourthly, we shall by no means be the smallest nation, nor Maplistan the smallest country in the world. On the contrary, both the numerical strength of our nation and the territorial size of our fatherland—Maplistan—will be larger than many a nation or state well established in the world.

Fifthly, we in Maplistan shall by no means be alone in the world, because we will be in the fraternal company of at least nine other Muslim nations which will be co-ordinated under the Crescent in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Sixthly, never have people been considered too mixed up to be sorted out into separate national units. On the contrary, they have ever been sorted out if and when it has been found necessary to do so. This is proved by the fact that, even after the last war, both in Europe and in Asia, peoples far more mixed up—and far less distinct—than the Muslims and the Hindoos of S. India were sorted out, not only into separate nations but also into separate regions which ultimately became their separate countries.

Seventhly, our struggle for Maplistan not only will not compromise that for Pakistan and Bangistan—and for the League-forsaken Osmanistan—but will positively help it, and therefore to postpone it will be a double tragedy. For we shall not only miss our last opportunity to create Maplistan before the final reconstruction of India, but also do a grave disservice to the cause of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.

Follow the Examples of Ancestors

These facts sum up our case for Maplistan. Indeed, they establish it. If we take our stand on them, we shall strengthen our position, weaken that of our opponents, and inspire our people to act in the spirit of our ancestors who, with small numbers and meagre resources, achieved wonders. I mean the ancestors who in the 7th and 8th centuries, despite the limitations of their human and material assets, devotedly worked for the cause, overcame all opposition, and succeeded in gaining first a toehold, then a foothold, and finally a stronghold in India. Not only that. Unaffected by their successes and undaunted by their difficulties, they pursued their course, extended their struggle, augmented their numbers through the conversion of their enemies, won crowns and kingdoms all over India, and, in the end, left us all a heritage which is still the envy of the world.

That inspiration is all the more essential because today, as we set out to reclaim a part of that heritage which lies in S. India, theirs is the noblest example for us to follow. And follow that we must—and we will—with full confidence in our success. As we do so, let us be heartened by the fact that we have several advantages over them. First, our numbers and resources are far greater than theirs. Then, the opposition we face is nothing as compared with that which they encountered. Finally, our task is more modest than theirs, for it is limited to the creation of Maplistan

in that part of S. India which has been ours for over a thousand years and will be ours for all time to come.

MUSLIMS OF S. INDIA!

That is the truth of our cause and that the tradition of our ancestors. None can deny the one, and nothing can beat the other. Both stand supreme, and, given devotion, spell our salvation.

So, inspired by that truth and animated by that tradition, let us all face the new era, attend to its saving message, and take up the sacred cause of Maplistan. For, remember, only the creation of Maplistan can ensure our survival, restore us to our rightful place in the ranks of nations, and enable us to make our national contribution to the rise and recognition of the other nations of our Millat, to the conversion of the country of India and its Islands into the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, to the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia, and, above all—far above all—to the achievement of the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout that Cultural Orbit of Pakasia.

To proclaim and pledge my personal dedication to this sacred cause, I have raised the standard of Maplistan and, to rally our patriots round it, I have founded the Maplistan National Movement. I pray to Allah that He and His Rasool may bless the standard, help me to hold it aloft before the world, and enable me to hand it on to the patriots who will promise undying loyalty to the cause of Maplistan!

For the glory of the Faith!

For the greatness of the Fraternity!

For the good of the Fatherlands!

10

THE MILLAT AND HER MINORITIES

Foundation of Muinistan for Muslims of Rajistan

The Muinistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First issued 15th March, 1943.
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Note

The Statement "The Millat and Her Minorities" pertains to Part III of the Pak Plan, which was formally inaugurated with "The Millat and The Mission" in 1942 and which deals with the future of the 35,000,000 Muslims who live in the Hindoo-Majority Regions of India and in Ceylon and other islands. In order to ensure their national survival, this Part proposes the creation of seven more Muslim countries:—Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan in the Continent of Dinia, and Safiistan and Nasaristan in Ceylon; and also the restoration to the Millat of the Alam Islands (Laccadive) in the Maplian Sea, the Ameen Islands (Maldive) in the Safian Sea, and the Ashar (Andaman) and Balus (Nicobar) Islands in the Bangian Sea.

In view of the present conditions in India and the world, the Statement stresses the need for immediate action for the creation of these countries and the restoration of these islands. To that end, it announces the foundation of seven national movements for these regions; namely, the Siddiqistan National Movement for Central India, Faruqistan National Movement for Bihar and Orissa, Haideristan National Movement for Hindoostan, Muinistan National Movement for Rajistan, Maplistan National Movement for Southern India, Safiistan National Movement for Western Ceylon, and Nasaristan National Movement for Eastern Ceylon.

Finally, it invites the Muslims in each of these regions to cooperate with their respective national movement, devote themselves to their national re-integration in their respective Fatherland, and so contribute to the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

CHOUDHARY RAHMAT ALI

MUSLIMS OF RAJISTAN!

Mankind is on the march. It is moving over mountains of dead and maimed, through rivers of blood and tears, and across deserts of rubble and ruins. Indeed, it is entering a new era in history. That is, an era of change, of challenge, and of chance: of change of the old order, of challenge to the creative in man, and of chance for the reconstruction of life—national as well as inter-national.

Obviously this development is fundamental. It may even be called elemental. It is charged with the fate of centuries and civilizations. It foreshadows a revolutionary phase in the destinies of nations. It marks the beginning of the transformation of the world.

In view of that, the sooner we understand its full significance and scope, the better for us.

To do that we must comprehend at least one master-fact about it. This fact is that the new era has a message for one and all: for us in Rajistan as for other peoples in their lands; that, to benefit by the message, we must read it with the eyes of our Faith, render it in the terms of our Fraternity, and realize it to the lasting good of our "being and well-being" in Rajistan, I mean the land which is now known as Rajputana, in which we have lived for over a thousand years, for which generation after generation we have expended our treasure and shed our blood, and with which are bound up our future and fortune for all time to come.

Translated in the Islamic spirit of comprehension, what is the message of the new era for us?

To put it precisely—and politically—the message is that the time has come for us to provide our permanent defence against the mortal dangers that beset us in the lands of the Thar. That is, the dangers which spring from our precarious position as a minority community, paralyse our national status, and menace our very existence in Rajputana. In other words, it is a call to us to create in Rajistan our own Fatherland of Muinistan and resume our place in the ranks of nations.

Such in content is the message. Clearly it is a message which, in the historical sense, can only be described as the supreme call of Fate. It awakens us to the grim reality of our position, offers us a rare chance to save ourselves, points us the way to take the chance, and promises us the preservation of our heritage.

In view of that, if we want to survive and revive ourselves as a nation —and that we most certainly do—we must attend to the message

immediately, take the chance faithfully, and lay the foundations well and truly of our homeland of Muinistan.

How to do it?

So far as our choice of ways and means is concerned, we must know that in the embattled world of today there are no short cuts to national survival, let alone national revival in new countries. Indeed, there never were and never will be any. For survival has ever belonged—and ever will belong—to the fittest who can fight the longest and the best for it.

This is the law of Nature, and to Nature's laws there are no exceptions. That is why at all times and in all countries people had to fight to ensure their survival. So must we—and so will we. In order to be able to do that successfully, we must face three questions honestly, answer them fundamentally, and act up to our answers heroically. For only a sound position, sustained by supreme dedication, can save us and ensure the creation of Muinistan, reinstate us in the comity of nations, and vindicate our national cause before history.

What are these three questions?

They are: Why create Muinistan? How to create it? And when to create it?

Let us take them in the above order and begin with the first.

I. WHY CREATE MUINISTAN?

To give our reasons for the creation of Muinistan is really to state one of the supreme truths of history. This truth is that dispersal is the worst enemy of nations. It is even more dangerous to them than defeat itself. Because defeat degrades, it destroys. And no wonder. It is to the body politic what vivisection is to the human body. In other words, it is dissection; it is dismemberment.

This truth is all-fateful and calls for the fullest comprehension.

Let us first look at it in the light of general knowledge. It reveals to us the secret not only of the political rise and fall of nations but also of the physical life and death of peoples. It reminds us that where we live today in Rajistan, there down the ages have lived countless nations who one after another have gradually disintegrated and ultimately disappeared. Why? Because, in their ignorance, they suffered dispersal. It warns us that by

remaining dispersed as at present we, in our folly, are inviting the grim fate of our predecessors and offering ourselves for slow but sure destruction.

Such is its instruction in the light of general knowledge. Now let us look at it in the light of personal experience, experience which is proverbially the best teacher.

It recalls to our minds that our Millat's greatness and glory was the ultimate result of our integration, unification, and consolidation. For it was the fullest concentration of the resources of our individual nations, which made her mighty, invincible, and irresistible; and enabled her to work for her Mission.

Secondly, it reminds us—and we do need reminding—that our Millat's tragedy of 1857 and her subsequent trials were the inevitable sequel of the dispersal of us all. For it was our dispersal which, more than anything else, broke up our Millat's twelve-century-old Continental Commonwealth, made her a minority community throughout the vast territories which had constituted that Commonwealth, left us all without even a home where we could retire to recover from our defeat, to reorganize our forces, and to resume our struggle; and which in the end tempted the Indians in 1932 to "Indianize" our whole Millat through the All-India Federation and thereby write "Finis" to her story in India.

Thirdly, it approves our work for national re-integration which we started with the foundation of the Pakistan National Movement in 1933; and as a result of which we have been able to meet some of the dangers of our Millat's dispersal in India, to frustrate the foul attempt at her "Indianization", to nullify the All-India Federation Act, and to create in 1933 under Part I of the Pak Plan the national cause of 35,000,000 Muslims in Pakistan and, in 1940, under Part II that of 40,000,000 Muslims in Bangistan and Osmanistan, and thereby lay the foundations of defence of 75,000,000 Muslims who until 1932 were helpless and homeless in the lands which they had served and saved for no less than twelve centuries.

Finally, it urges us to execute Part III of the Plan immediately. That is the Part which was formally inaugurated with "The Millat and The Mission" in 1942; and which proposes to stop the dispersal and to start the national re-integration of all Muslim Minorities in the Hindoo-Majority Regions of India, and in Ceylon and other islands. To that end, it calls for (a) the creation of seven more Muslim countries: Siddiqistan in Central India, Faruqistan in Bihar and Orissa, Haideristan in Hindoostan, Muinistan in Rajistan, Maplistan in Southern India; Safiistan in Eastern Ceylon, and Nasaristan in Western Ceylon; and (b) the restoration to the

Millat's heritage of the strategically important, Hindoo-named but Muslim-peopled, the Laccadive and Maldive Islands, now known as the Alam and Ameen Islands, and of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, now termed the Ashar and Balus Islands.

Such is this truth which is graven on the tablets of history, inscribed on the tombstones of nations, and best taught by both the triumphs and the tragedies of our own Millat. Impressing upon us as it does the vital need for our own Fatherland, it deserves to be seared on our minds and memories, and demands to be acted upon immediately for the creation of Muinistan. And act upon it we must—and we will—because we stand convinced that nothing can save us from national extinction in Rajistan except the creation of Muinistan. That is, the Fatherland whose name springs from our Islamic share in the history and inheritance of Rajistan, symbolises our Islamic national status in the Land of Rajistan, and stands for Islamic hopes for the ultimate destiny of Rajistan.

This gives our answer to "Why create Muinistan" and brings us to the next question.

II. HOW TO CREATE MUINISTAN?

The method and manner of the creation of Muinistan must necessarily be determined by a reference to the fundamentals of the creation of countries, and to the conditions in Rajistan. If for the former we look into the records of history, we shall find that, throughout the ages, new countries have been created only by military conquest, spiritual conversion, mass colonisation, or partition of lands; and if for the latter we look at the realities of Rajistan, we shall realize that, for the immediate creation of Muinistan, the first three of the historical alternatives being out of the question, only the last alternative is open to us. That is the alternative of the partition of territory.

This being so, we must adopt it and act upon it. That we can do with a clear conscience. For it is an alternative which is at once fair, feasible, and favoured by the comity of nations.

It is fair in the name of the immediate as well as the ultimate interests of both nations concerned—Muslim and Hindoo—because to both of us it gives the moral right of self-determination and guarantees the actual realization of that right in our individual shares of the territory of Rajistan.

It is feasible in the name of "practical politics", because it does not call for any convulsive change in the existing order of things in Rajistan. On the contrary, all that it demands—and that to the common good of

both Muslims and Hindoos—is a more rational and truly inter-national partition of the territory—the territory which now, to the good of neither Muslims nor Hindoos, is divided into several states, and so many districts.

It is favoured by the comity of nations in the name of historical experience, because wherever and whenever it has been tried for the solution of a bi-national problem like ours, it has invariably yielded wonderful results. It has put an end to the age-old conflicts which frequently caused civil wars, and thereby not only checked the general development of the peoples concerned but also endangered and, in some cases, even destroyed the peace of the world.

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Then, on the basis of our population, we must claim our proportional share in the territory of Rajistan, and do so with a full conviction of the justice of our position, because we are prepared to satisfy reciprocally the similar claims of the Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan. This share we must do our best to acquire in that part of Rajistan where it will involve the least possible transfer of population, and where we shall be able to enjoy freely the rights and to perform fully the duties of our membership of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Finally, when this is done, we must, in the spirit of Islamic consecration, convert our proportional area into our fatherland of Muinistan, and call for its recognition as a distinct country by the comity of nations.

That constitutes our answer to the second question: How to create Muinistan, and leaves us free to deal with the last question.

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In facing this question it is vital to remember that in the world there is a time for everything. This means that just as there is a time for ploughing

and sowing, so there is a time for founding and building nations or countries. Again, just as the time for the former is dictated by Nature, so that for the latter is determined by history. The moral of it all is that, whatever one's purpose, to ensure success one must do the right thing at the right time.

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Indeed, all this does not lie in the future. Most of it relates to the present. For, whether we realize it or not, the fact is that before our eyes there is going on a re-interpretation of the philosophies of life, a re-integration of the peoples, a re-alignment of the nations, a re-construction of the countries, and a re-orientation of the policies and purpose of all in the world. In both hemispheres and in all continents, people with power are waiting for the opportunity to effect this global re-organization. They are waiting not with folded hands but with blue prints finished, with plans perfected, and with preparations completed. The moment the war ends—if not before—they will see to it that nothing remains the same; that everything changes.

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Such will be the motives prompting the opposition of these three parties. In view of that, we mustn't be surprised if, in the Leaguers' words about Pakistan before the Parliamentary Select Committee in 1933, they all dub the ideal of Muinistan "chimerical and impracticable". In doing that, they might argue that we, the Muslims and the Hindoos, are so mixed up in Rajistan that we cannot possibly be sorted out as separate nations into separate regions; secondly, that even if that could be done, our population and area would be too small to create Muinistan; and, thirdly, that even if Muinistan could be created, it would be too poor a country to hold its own in the world. Finally, the Leaguers might hint that our struggle for Muinistan would compromise the struggle for Pakistan and Bangistan, and that, therefore, we had better postpone it until after the achievement of Pakistan and Bangistan which, they would argue, could by itself facilitate the rise of Muinistan.

Frustrate the Opposition

Thus these parties will do what they can to argue us out of our faith in Muinistan. But, knowing as we do the spirit and substance of their arguments, we should have no difficulty in meeting and defeating their opposition. The best way to do that is to adhere firmly to the fundamentals of our case, work devotedly for our cause, and before them, as before the world, take our stand on the following basic facts of national life:—

First, to be a small nation is better and more honourable than to be no nation at all. For nationhood is to a people what maturity is to an individual. Only its attainment can secure their existence, status, and honour in the world.

Secondly, to have a small homeland is safer and more honourable than to have no homeland at all. For no nation can grow to its full stature and preserve and develop its heritage without a homeland of its own.

Thirdly, the position of a nation or country depends ultimately on its spirit, not on its size. This is conclusively proved by the history of Greece and Rome, or Arabia and England.

Fourthly, we shall by no means be the smallest nation, nor Muinistan the smallest country in the world. On the contrary, both the numerical strength of our nation and the territorial size of our fatherland—Muinistan—will be larger than many a nation or state well established in the world.

Fifthly, we in Muinistan shall by no means be alone in the world, because we will be in the fraternal company of at least nine other Muslim nations which will be co-ordinated under the Crescent in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Sixthly, never have people been considered too mixed up to be sorted out into separate national units. On the contrary, they have ever been sorted out if and when it has been found necessary to do so. This is proved by the fact that, even after the last war, both in Europe and in Asia, peoples far more mixed up—and far less distinct—than the Muslims and the Hindoos of Rajistan were sorted out, not only into separate nations but also into separate regions which ultimately became their separate countries.

Seventhly, our struggle for Muinistan not only will not compromise that for Pakistan and Bangistan—and for the League-forsaken Osmanistan—but will positively help it, and therefore to postpone it will be a double tragedy. For we shall not only miss our last opportunity

to create Muinistan before the final reconstruction of India, but also do a grave disservice to the cause of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.

Follow the Examples of Ancestors

These facts sum up our case of Muinistan. Indeed, they establish it. If we take our stand on them, we shall strengthen our position, weaken that of our opponents, and inspire our people to act in the spirit of our ancestors who, with small numbers and meagre resources, achieved wonders. I mean the ancestors who in the 7th and 8th centuries, despite the limitations of their human and material assets, devotedly worked for the cause, overcame all opposition, and succeeded in gaining first a toehold, then a foothold, and finally a stronghold in India. Not only that. Unaffected by their successes and undaunted by their difficulties, they pursued their course, extended their struggle, augmented their numbers through the conversion of their enemies, won crowns and kingdoms all over India, and, in the end, left us all a heritage which is still the envy of the world.

That inspiration is all the more essential because today, as we set out to reclaim a part of that heritage which lies in Rajistan, theirs is the noblest example for us to follow. And follow that we must—and we will—with full confidence in our success. As we do so, let us be heartened by the fact that we have several advantages over them. First, our numbers and resources are far greater than theirs. Then, the opposition we face is nothing as compared with that which they encountered. Finally, our task is more modest than theirs, for it is limited to the creation of Muinistan in that part of Rajistan which has been ours for over a thousand years and will be ours for all time to come.

MUSLIMS OF RAJISTAN!

That is the truth of our cause and that the tradition of our ancestors. None can deny the one, and nothing can beat the other. Both stand supreme, and, given devotion, spell our salvation.

So, inspired by that truth and animated by that tradition, let us all face the new era, attend to its saving message, and take up the sacred cause of Muinistan. For, remember, only the creation of Muinistan can ensure our survival, restore us to our rightful place in the ranks of nations, and enable us to make our national contribution to the rise and recognition of

the other nations of our Millat, to the conversion of the country of India and its Islands into the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, to the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia, and, above all—far above all—to the achievement of the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout that Cultural Orbit of Pakasia.

To proclaim and pledge my personal dedication to this sacred cause, I have raised the standard of Muinistan and, to rally our patriots round it, I have founded the Muinistan National Movement. I pray to Allah that He and His Rasool may bless the standard, help me to hold it aloft before the world, and enable me to hand it on to the patriots who will promise undying loyalty to the cause of Muinistan!

For the glory of the Faith!

For the greatness of the Fraternity!

For the good of the Fatherlands!

11

THE MILLAT AND HER MINORITIES

Foundation of Siddiqistan for Muslims of Central India

The Siddiqistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First issued 15th March, 1943.
Reissued 5th February, 1946.

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Note

The Statement "The Millat and Her Minorities" pertains to Part III of the Pak Plan, which was formally inaugurated with "The Millat and The Mission" in 1942, and which deals with the future of the 35,000,000 Muslims who live in the Hindoo-Majority Regions of India, and in Ceylon and other islands. In order to ensure their national survival, this Part proposes the creation of seven more Muslim countries:—Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan in the Continent of Dinia, and Safiistan and Nasaristan in Ceylon; and also the restoration to the Millat of the Alam Islands (Laccadive) in the Maplian Sea, the Ameen Islands (Maldive) in the Safian Sea, and the Ashar (Andaman) and Balus (Nicobar) Islands in the Bangian Sea.

In view of the present conditions in India and the world, the Statement stresses the need for immediate action for the creation of these countries and the restoration of these islands. To that end, it announces the foundation of seven national movements for these regions; namely, the Siddiqistan National Movement for Central India, Faruqistan National Movement for Bihar and Orissa, Haideristan National Movement for Hindoostan, Muinistan National Movement for Rajistan, Maplistan National Movement for Southern India, Safiistan National Movement for Western Ceylon, and Nasaristan National Movement for Eastern Ceylon.

Finally, it invites the Muslims in each of these regions to cooperate with their respective national movement, devote themselves to their national re-integration in their respective Fatherland, and so contribute to the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

No Future without Fatherlands

Build and Live—or—Wither and Die

MUSLIMS OF CENTRAL INDIA!

Mankind is on the march. It is moving over mountains of dead and maimed, through rivers of blood and tears, and across deserts of rubble and ruins. Indeed, it is entering a new era in history. That is, an era of change, of challenge, and of chance: of change of the old order, of challenge to the creative in man, and of chance for the reconstruction of life—national as well as inter-national.

Obviously this development is fundamental. It may even be called elemental. It is charged with the fate of centuries and civilizations. It foreshadows a revolutionary phase in the destinies of nations. It marks the beginning of the transformation of the world.

In view of that, the sooner we understand its full significance and scope, the better for us.

To do that we must comprehend at least one master-fact about it. This fact is that the new era has a message for one and all: for us in Central India as for other peoples in their lands; that, to benefit by the message, we must read it with the eyes of our Faith, render it in the terms of our Fraternity, and realize it to the lasting good of our "being and well-being" in Central India. I mean the land which is also known as Bundhelkhand and Malwa, in which we have lived for over a thousand years, for which generation after generation we have expended our treasure and shed our blood, and with which are bound up our future and fortunes for all time to come.

Translated in the Islamic spirit of comprehension, what is the message of the new era for us?

To put it precisely—and politically—the message is that the time has come for us to provide our permanent defence against the mortal dangers that beset us in Central India. That is, the dangers which spring from our precarious position as a minority community, paralyse our national status, and menace our very existence in Central India. In other words, it is a call to us to create in Central India our own Fatherland of Siddiqistan and resume our place in the comity of nations.

Such in content is the message. Clearly it is a message which, in the historical sense, can only be described as the supreme call of Fate. It awakens us to the grim reality of our position, offers us a rare chance to save ourselves, points us the way to take the chance, and promises us the preservation of our heritage.

In view of that, if we want to survive and revive ourselves as a nation—and that we most certainly do—we must attend to the message immediately, take the chance faithfully, and lay the foundations well and truly of our homeland of Siddiqistan.

How to do it?

So far as our choice of the ways and means is concerned, we must know that in the embattled world of today there are no short cuts to national survival, let alone national revival in new countries. Indeed, there never were and never will be any. For survival has ever belonged—and ever will belong—to the fittest, who can fight the longest and the best for it.

This is the law of Nature, and to Nature's laws there are no exceptions. That is why at all times and in all countries people had to fight to ensure their survival. So must we—and so will we. In order to be able to do that successfully, we must face three questions honestly, answer them fundamentally, and act up to our answers heroically. For only a sound position sustained by supreme dedication, can save us and ensure the creation of Siddiqistan, reinstate us in the comity of nations, and vindicate our national cause before history.

What are these three questions?

They are: Why create Siddiqistan? How to create it? And when to create it?

Let us take them in the above order and begin with the first.

I. WHY CREATE SIDDIQISTAN?

To give our reasons for the creation of Siddiqistan is really to state one of the supreme truths of history. This truth is that dispersal is the worst enemy of nations. It is even more dangerous to them than defeat

itself. Defeat degrades, but dispersal destroys. And no wonder. It is to the body politic what vivisection is to the human body. In other words, it is dissection; it is dismemberment.

This truth is all-fateful and calls for the fullest comprehension.

Let us first look at it in the light of general knowledge. It reveals to us the secret not only of the political rise and fall of nations but also of the physical life and death of peoples. It reminds us that where we live today in Central India, there down the ages have lived countless nations who one after another have gradually disintegrated and ultimately disappeared. Why? Because, in their ignorance, they suffered dispersal. It warns us that by remaining dispersed as at present we, in our folly, are inviting the grim fate of our predecessors and offering ourselves for slow but sure destruction.

Such is its instruction in the light of general knowledge. Now let us look at it in the light of personal experience, experience which is proverbially the best teacher.

It recalls to our minds that our Millat's greatness and glory was the ultimate result of our integration, unification, and consolidation. For it was the fullest concentration of the resources of our individual nations, which made her mighty, invincible, and irresistible; and enabled her to work for her Mission.

Secondly, it reminds us—and we do need reminding—that our Millat's tragedy of 1857 and her subsequent trials were the inevitable sequel of the dispersal of us all. For it was our dispersal which, more than anything else, broke up our Millat's twelve-century-old Continental Commonwealth, made her a minority community throughout the vast territories which had constituted that Commonwealth, left us all without even a home where we could retire to recover from our defeat, to recognize our forces, and to resume our struggle; and which in the end tempted the Indians in 1932 to "Indianize" our whole Millat through the All-India Federation and thereby write "Finis" to her story in India.

Thirdly, it approves our work for national re-integration which we started with the foundation of the Pakistan National Movement in 1933; and as a result of which we have been able to meet some of the dangers of our Millat's dispersal in India to frustrate the foul attempt at her "Indianization", to nullify the All-India Federation Act, and to create in 1933 under part I of the Pak Plan the national cause of 35,000,000 Muslims in Pakistan and, in 1940, under Part II that of 40,000,000 Muslims in Bangistan and Osmanistan, and thereby lay the foundations of defence of 75,000,000 Muslims who until 1932 were helpless and homeless in the

lands which they had served and saved for no less than twelve centuries.

Finally, it urges us to execute Part III of the Plan immediately. That is the Part which was formally inaugurated with "The Millat and The Mission" in 1942; and which proposes to stop the dispersal and to start the national re-integration of all Muslim Minorities in the Hindoo-Majority Regions of India, and in Ceylon and other islands. To that end, it calls for (a) the creation of seven more Muslim countries: Siddiqistan in Central India, Faruqistan in Bihar and Orissa, Haideristan in Hindoostan, Muinistan in Rajistan, Maplistan in South India; Safiistan in Eastern Ceylon, and Nasaristan in Western Ceylon; and (b) the restoration to the Millat's heritage of the strategically important, Hindoo-named but Muslim-peopled, the Laccadive and Maldive Islands, now known as the Alam and Ameen Islands, and of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, now termed the Ashar and Balus Islands.

Such is this truth which is graven on the tablets of history, inscribed on the tombstones of nations, and best taught by both the triumphs and the tragedies of our own Millat. Impressing upon us as it does the vital need for our own Fatherland, it deserves to be seared on our minds and memories, and demands to be acted upon immediately for the creation of Siddiqistan. And act upon it we must—and we will—because we stand convinced that nothing can save us from national extinction in Central India except the creation of Siddiqistan. That is, the Fatherland whose name springs from our Islamic share in the history and inheritance of Central India, symbolises our Islamic national status in the lands of Central India, and stands for our Islamic hopes for the ultimate destiny of Central India.

This gives our answer to "Why create Siddiqistan" and brings us to the next question.

II. HOW TO CREATE SIDDIQISTAN?

The method and manner of the creation of Siddiqistan must necessarily be determined by a reference to the fundamentals of the creation of countries, and to the conditions in Central India. If for the former we look into the records of history, we shall find that, throughout the ages, new countries have been created only by military conquest, spiritual conversion, mass colonisation, or partition of lands; and if for the latter we look at the realities of Central India, we shall realize that, for the immediate creation of Siddiqistan, the first three of the historical alternatives being out of the question, only the last alternative is open to us. That is the

alternative of the partition of territory.

This being so, we must adopt it and act upon it. That we can do with a clear conscience. For it is an alternative which is at once fair, feasible, and favoured by the comity of nations.

It is fair in the name of the immediate as well as the ultimate interests of both nations concerned—Muslim and Hindoo—because to both of us it gives the moral right of self-determination and guarantees the actual realization of that right in our individual shares of the territory of Central India.

It is feasible in the name of "practical politics", because it does not call for any convulsive change in the existing order of things in Central India. On the contrary all that it demands—and that to the common good of both Muslims and Hindoos—is a more rational and truly international partition of the territory—the territory which now, to the good of neither Muslims nor Hindoos, is divided into several provinces and states.

It is favoured by the comity of nations in the name of historical experience, because wherever and whenever it has been tried for the solution of a bi-national problem like ours, it has invariably yielded wonderful results. It has put an end to the age-old conflicts which frequently caused civil wars, and thereby not only checked the general development of the peoples concerned but also endangered and, in some cases, even destroyed the peace of the world.

So, in view of its all-round suitability, we are not merely entitled but in duty-bound to avail ourselves of it for the purpose of creating Siddiqistan.

So much for the principle of this alternative. What of the practical steps for putting it into operation?

It is plain that to put it into operation will constitute our greatest task. To accomplish this task we must do three things.

First, we must formally and finally reject the false and fatal conception of the historical, the national, and the territorial unity of Central India, repudiate our present position of "Minorityism", re-assert our age-old status of distinct nationhood, and, above all, prove our unshakable determination to re-establish and perpetuate that status in Siddiqistan. This is indispensible to our success. We must make sure of it.

Then, on the basis of our population, we must claim our proportional share in the territory of Central India, and do so with a full conviction of the justice of our position, because we are prepared to satisfy reciprocally the similar claims of the Minorities in Pakistan, Bangistan, and

Osmanistan. This share we must do our best to acquire in that part of Central India where it will involve the least possible transfer of population, and where we shall be able to enjoy freely the rights and to perform fully the duties of our membership of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations.

Finally, when this is done, we must, in the spirit of Islamic consecration, convert our proportional area into our fatherland of Siddiqistan, and call for its recognition as a distinct country by the comity of nations.

That constitutes our answer to the second question: How to create Siddiqistan, and leaves us free to deal with the last question.

III. WHEN TO CREATE SIDDIQISTAN?

In facing this question it is vital to remember that in this world there is a time for everything. This means that just as there is a time for ploughing and sowing, so there is a time for founding and building nations or countries. Again, just as the time for the former is dictated by Nature, so that for the latter is determined by history. The moral of it all is that, whatever one's purpose, to ensure success one must do the right thing at the right time.

Admittedly that is axiomatic—and to none more so than to us, the descendants of campaigners, conquerors, and empire-builders. For we know that the triumphs of our ancestors owed much to their full realization of the vital importance of the time-factor to human undertakings and enterprises.

To state it here is simply to stress the fact that the most suitable time to create Siddiqistan is here and now. And this for the following reasons:

The making, the un-making, and the re-making of nations and countries is an eternal process—and purpose—of Nature. No power can stop it. No agency can sabotage it. Ceaselessly and constantly it has gone on from the beginning of time, and will go on to the end of time. That is as inevitable as any other action of Nature.

Now, so far as its actual working is concerned, History shows that, throughout the ages, it has invariably found its completion through wars, with the result that directly or indirectly it is wars which have made all nations and all countries what they are to-day. Mark my words. I say all nations and all countries. For, in Asia or Africa, in Europe or America, there isn't one single nation or one single country whose organic creation, whose human composition, whose territorial extent, or whose political position is not the direct or indirect result of wars.

Naturally, therefore, what is true of past wars must be true of the present war. This is running true to type and—even more fully than ever before—is throwing into the melting-pot the whole set-up of human affairs. That fact is as plain as it is profound. For gone into the melting-pot are all systems and civilizations, all brotherhoods and fraternities, all continents and countries. And, what is more, when the fires of war and revolution, now burning under the pot, have done their work, al the continents will go into new moulds to assume new shapes.

This means that, in due course, they will all be changed. The systems and civilizations will be re-constituted, the brotherhoods and fraternities re-fashioned, and the countries and continents re-made. Thus will be transformed some countries into counties and some counties into countries, some nations into communities and some communities into nations. And, in the end, will be changed the face and the fate of the whole world.

Indeed, all this does not lie in the future. Most of it relates to the present. For, whether we realize it or not, the fact is that before our eyes there is going on a re-interpretation of the philosophies of life, a re-integration of the peoples, a re-alignment of the nations, a re-construction of the countries, and a re-orientation of the policies and purposes of all in the world. In both hemispheres and in all continents, people with power are waiting for the opportunity to effect this global re-organization. They are waiting not with folded hands but with blue prints finished, with plans perfected, and with preparations completed. The moment the war ends—if not before—they will see to it that nothing remains the same; that everything changes.

Let us, therefore, make no mistake about it. In such a world India will not remain changeless. It cannot, even if it will. For it is part of the world; it is a party to the war; and it is ripe for re-construction on new foundations. That is why its re-construction—territorial and international, political and constitutional—is being advocated by most of the parties concerned. Indeed, it is being discussed and derermined by all. It is, therefore, no longer in cold storage. On the contrary, it is on the anvil, and it is being actually hammered and shaped into form.

We could wish for nothing better. For our purpose this is the ideal situation. And it is about such situations that the Saracens said "Strike while the iron is hot—and polish it at leisure". That saying is packed with moral virtue and practical wisdom. It makes it crystal clear to us all that, in view of the present state of affairs in India and in the world, the time to ensure the re-construction of Central India is here and now;

that the time for the re-construction of Central India is the time for the creation of Siddiqistan; and that to let it pass by will be to miss an opportunity that may not recur for centuries.

This concludes our broad, basic statement on the questions raised by the message of the new era which is beginning in the history of mankind.

ACTION AND REACTION

Having made our fundamental answers to these fateful questions, let us now turn our attention to the issue of the reaction to our action for Siddiqistan. This is all the more necessary because all reaction won't be favourable. Indeed, it is certain that it will be mixed—devoted support from most of our own people, and determined opposition from other quarters. This is natural, it is inevitable.

We must, therefore, accept such reaction rationally and treat it with commonsense. In other words, we must do all we can to foster, consolidate, and make the best use of the popular support; and also to understand the opposition, answer it in advance, and defeat it in the end.

Study the Opposition

It is certain that active opposition to Siddiqistan will come from two quarters; that is, the British Imperialists and the Hindoo nationalists. It is possible that passive opposition may come even from the Muslim Leaguers, which, needless to add, will be more harmful than the active opposition of the Anglo-Hindoo Entente!

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Thirdly, the position of a nation or country depends ultimately on its spirit, not on its size. This is conclusively proved by the history of Greece and Rome, of Arabia and England.

Fourthly, we shall by no means be the smallest nation, nor Siddiqistan the smallest country in the world. On the contrary both the numerical strength of our nation and the territorial size of our fatherland—Siddiqistan—will be larger than many a nation or state well established in the world.

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Seventhly, our struggle for Siddiqistan not only will not compromise that for Pakistan and Bangistan—and for the League-forsaken Osmanistan—but will positively help it, and therefore to postpone it will be a double tragedy. For we shall not only miss our last opportunity to create Siddiqistan before the final reconstruction of India, but also do a grave disservice to the cause of Pakistan, Bangistan, and Osmanistan.

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and resources are far greater than theirs. Then, the opposition we face is nothing as compared with that which they encountered. Finally, our task is more modest than theirs, for it is limited to the creation of Siddiqistan in that part of Central India which has been ours for over a thousand years and will be ours for all time to come.

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So, inspired by that truth and animated by that tradition, let us all face the new era, attend to its saving message, and take up the sacred cause of Siddiqistan. For, remember, only the creation of Siddiqistan can ensure our survival, restore us to our rightful place in the ranks of nations, and enable us to make our national contribution to the rise and recognition of the other nations of our Millat, to the conversion of the country of India and its Islands into the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, to the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia, and, above all—far above all—to the achievement of the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout that Cultural Orbit of Pakasia.

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For the glory of the Faith!

For the greatness of the Fraternity!

For the good of the Fatherlands!

12

THE MILLAT AND HER TEN NATIONS

Foundation of the All-Dinia Milli Movement

The All-Dinia Milli Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

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THE MILLAT AND HER TEN NATIONS

Foundation of the All-Dinia Milli Movement

Note

The Statement, *The Millat and Her Ten Nations*, deals with the prerequisites of the successful execution of Part IV of the Pak Plan. That is the Part which is devoted to the establishment of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which was formally inaugurated with *The Millat and The Mission* in 1942.

The Statement sums up the prerequisities of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations as the Co-operation between our ten national movements, the creation of our ten nations as members of the Millat, and the dedication of them all to the Mission of the Millat. Further, it stresses the vital importance of the preparatory work that can be done for these prerequisites at this stage of the re-construction of the Millat's heritage in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. And finally, to that end, it announces the foundation of the All-Dinia Milli Movement and asks all parties and organizations of the Millat to extend their support to the Movement.

I. To Create All in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.
II. To Institute All as Members of the Millat.
III. To Co-ordinate All in the Pak Commowealth of Nations.
IV. To Dedicate All to the Mission of the Millat.

Nations of the Millat!

We all know to our cost that the Round Table Conference held in London from 1930 to 1934 created one of the greatest crises in our history. At this Conference "Indianism," after deceiving us for centries, at last took off its mask, and, in the name of All-India Federation and with the backing of British Imperialism, demanded of us the renunciation of our claim to national life and liberty in our own homelands which it had duped us into keeping incorporated in the country of India. In other words, in order to ensure, with the help of British Imperialism, its own hegemony over us all, it denied our right to distinct nationhood in our own territories, opposed the conversion of these territories into sovereign national states, and thereby attempted to "Indianize", us and our territories, and to deprive our Millat of her heritage throughout India and its Islands.

The Pak Plan

We all know also to our satisfaction that we met this crisis with the Pak Plan in 1933. That is the Plan which proposes to recover our Millat's heritage in all provinces, states, and other units of India and its Islands and to re-construct it in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Since the publication of the Plan, this re-construction has been the supreme purpose of the lives and labours of us all, and will remain so until its full and final completion.

To complete it we have proceeded step by step. To begin with, I placed before the Millat in 1933 the first Part of the Plan as the ideal of Pakistan; then in 1940, the second Part as that of Bangistan and Osmanistan; and finally in 1942, the third as that of Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan in the Continent of Dinia; Safiistan and Nasaristan in Ceylon; the Alam Islands in the Maplian Sea, the Ameen Islands in the Safian Sea, and the Ashar and Balus Islands in the Bangian Sea, the fourth as the co-ordination of these national lands and islands under the Crescent in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations; the sixth as the conversion of the country of India and its Islands into the continent of Dinia and its Dependencies; and the seventh as the organization of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies into the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia.

Thanks to the Millat's heroic response to these ideals, placed before her in the Parts already published, the Plan has mastered the Federal crisis, defeated the sinister designs of "Indianism," and laid the foundations for the rise of our national lands and islands as well as for the re-

construction of our Millat's heritage in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

The Pak Epoch

That, in brief, is the up to date record of the Pak Plan in solving the immediate problem, created by the Federal crisis which arose from the lust for power of "Indianism." In solving the age-old problem of "Indianism" itself, it has done equally well.

It has once for all destroyed the very basis of "Indianism"; it has closed the old, disastrous Indian Era which was identified with the cult of "Indianism"; it has opened the new, auspicious Pak Epoch which is signalized by the creed of "Pakism."

This it has achieved by initiating three dynamic developments in the deology of our Millat.

What are these developments?

The first is that for the first time since 638, when we established our earliest contact with the shores of the Pakian Sea, the Plan impelled us to repudiate the false and fatal doctrine of "Indianism," which teaches the uni-national myth that all the nations, living in its sphere of influence, are Indian; and which misrepresents their lands and islands as mere provinces, constituting the country of India and its Islands. The second is that for the first time since 711, when we established our original stronghold on the soil of Sindh, it inspired us to create and act upon the saving creed of "Pakism," which proclaims the multi-national fact about all these peoples in these vast and varied lands; and which represents these lands and islands as their national countries and islands, constituting the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. And the third is that for the first time since 1857, when for the only time in our long, eventful history we lost the battle of freedom—freedom for ourselves as well as for others —it moved us to resume that battle in the re-construction of our Millat's heritage in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Symbols are Facts in the Making

Fundamental in character, fiery in appeal, and far-reaching in effect, these are the three developments in the ideology of our Millat, which have sounded the death-knell of the Indian Era and signalized the birth of the Pak Epoch in our history.

To refer to them in such positive terms is not to forget that today they are to be seen in mere signs and symbols and names. No. To do that

would be not only foolish but also fatal. It is, therefore, simply to record and reiterate before the world our solemn conviction and firm determination that tomorrow they shall be seen in fact and reality.

It is needless to add that this conviction is not blind nor this determination vain. On the contrary, one arises from the verities of life and the other is animated by the virility of the 110,000,000 of our Millat. What is more, the promise of the ultimate vindication of both is writ large in the pages of history. Even he who runs may read it. It is that the signs and symbols and names of nations and countries, if they spring from the soul of a people as do ours, and are nourished on their service and sacrifice as are ours, always become hard facts and living realities; and that, in the meantime, they hold the respect of friend and foe, as do ours; and in the fullness of time they win recognition from the world, as will ours.

So not for a moment need any one doubt the full materialization of these developments which have signalized the dawn of the Pak Epoch. It may come sooner or it may come later than we wish: but come it will—*Insha Allah.* That is written in the skies.

It will come not because we merely wish it to, but because to ensure it, we will dedicate our all: we will dare all : we will do all. And this we will, because we know that the achievement of all human ideals, be they individual or national, is the fruit only of absolute dedication as is taught by Islam and blessed by Allah and His Rasool.

Dinia: Our Destination

Inspired by this dedication and guided by this knowledge we will surge forward and continue our creative work, keeping our grip fixed on the fundamentals of our ideology and our gaze on the ultimate aim of that ideology, which is the rise of our nations in our own lands and islands as members of the Millat, their co-ordination in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, and their dedication to the Mission of the Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

This is vital. Indeed it is the very heart and core of the Pak Plan. If it succeeds, the whole Plan succeeds; if it fails, the whole Plan fails. So we must make sure of it, and do so in full realization of the fact that on it depends everything, including the freedom of each one of us and the fortunes of the Millat.

How to Make Sure of It?

The only way to make sure of it is to see that henceforth "Indianism,"

in every shape and form, disappears from the councils of our nations and of our Millat; that not even a trace of it is left in the principles, policies, and purposes of our organizations, be they social, educational, or political; that our so-called "All-India" institutions, born of the old historical, national, or territorial cult of "Indianism," are re-created as "All-Dinia" institutions and reared in the new, noble Pak concept of "Dinianism"; and finally that, from now onwards, we all individually and institutionally, nationally and inter-nationally think, speak, and act as nations in our own countries and as members of our own Millat dedicated to the fulfilment of her Mission in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Three Fateful Facts

This transformation, essential by itself, is rendered all the more imperative by three fateful facts.

The first is that [the] country of India and its Islands are not today what they were when we appeared therein, when we flourished therein, or when we fell therein. No. Since those days they have changed radically and are likely to change beyond recognition. This change is charged with grave warnings against creating our nations and reconstructing our Millat *in India*—and to ignore it will be to endanger our future.

The second is that the natural, honourable, and irresistible urge of a people for nationhood, if left unattached to an ideal, higher and greater than mere nationhood, invariably develops a suicidal exclusiveness. That fact, written in letters of blood and fire in our own history of the 18th and 19th centuries as in that of Europe of the present century, urgently calls for an effective safeguard against the self-destructive tendency of mere nationalism. To provide such a safeguard in India is impossible, but in Dinia, certain.

The last is that, whatever nationhood may be to others, to us as Muslims, though important in itself, it has never been and never will be an end by itself.

On the contrary, it has ever been, and ever will be, a means to an end which is the revival of our Millat as a comity of our nations for the fulfilment of her Mission. Obviously our attachment to India is fatal to our attainment of that end.

Remember the Results of the First Blunder

This reference to these facts reveals the deadly dangers that are inherent in the rise of our nations and the reconstruction of our Millat's

heritage in the country of India and its Islands. It does more than that. It points to the assurance of the deliverance, defence, and destiny of our nations and our Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. It must therefore make our Indophiles realize the supreme importance of immediately ridding our Millat of "Indianism" and of rearing her in "Dinianism."

To remove any lingering doubts on this issue of issues, they have simply to think of the fatal results of the first blunder which we committed in 711 in building our people and power, our provinces and states in the name, and as part, of the country of India.

From the very beginning, it baptised us all "Indian," blurred our vision of "Millat," and caged us—even as rulers — within India. Not only that. Throughout the centuries—of our supremacy—it blighted the most heroic efforts of our greatest men to integrate our people into nations and our nations into "Millat," and thereby frustrated the Mission of our Millat. And, in the end, it led to our military defeat in 1757, to our Milli downfall in 1857, and to the verge of our National and Milli destruction in 1932.

Looking back on past centuries in the light of this sequel, I feel sure none of us will deny that this blunder of 711 altered the whole course of our history, cost us the best opportunity to achieve our destiny in India, and reduced the chances of the triumph of our Faith and Fraternity in the world. Indeed, I feel certain all will admit that, but for this blunder, not only our own history, but also the history of India, of Asia, and of the world would have been written differently—and by different hands. They will do so because the twelve centuries that have gone by since 711 fully confirm this judgement.

The Call of our History and Hopes

However, the painful sequel of that fatal blunder still remains with us all. It helps us to remember what we have suffered and how we have survived in these centuries. Not only that. It enables us to realize where we stand and what we face today in India, in Asia, and in the World.

Let us therefore see to it that, in this hour of our new dawn, that remembrance and that realization clear our minds of cant and conceit, and open our hearts and souls to the supreme call of our history and hopes. They both urge us to turn once for all our backs on "India" and our faces towards "Dinia." In other words, they counsel us never again

to build in the name and as part of the country of India and its Islands, but ever to build in the name and as part of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies; secondly, never again to fail to provide for the co-existence of our nations and our Millat, but ever to ensure the existence of our nations as members of our Millat in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations; and, finally, never again to subordinate the spiritual interests of our Millat to the secular interests of our nations, but ever to keep them above everything—individual or national.

If we are true to ourselves, we must heed this counsel; for if we do not, we shall deserve—and suffer—re-destruction.

The Need for Milli Organization

Let us, therefore, heed it and avoid the mistakes of the past, meet the demands of the present, and anticipate the needs of the future of our nations and our Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. In other words, at this formative stage, let us recognize the absolute importance of the simultaneous growth of our nations and our Millat in the Continent if Dinia and its Dependencies. And, to ensure that growth, let us have a Milli organization which is founded and built and worked on the Pak concept of "Dinianism." For only such an organization can achieve the rise of our nations as members of our Millat, their co-ordination in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, and their dedication to the Mission of our Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Foundation of the All-Dinia Milli Movement

During the past five years I have both privately and publicly urged this need upon all. I have shown the madness of the Muslim League's avowal of India as "The Common Mother Country of Muslims and Hindoos." I have warned all of the great mischief that may well be done by this foolish acceptance of the territorial implications of "Indianism." I have called for fundamental changes in the basis and in the aims of our existing "All-India" institutions—changes that would at once de-Indianize and Dinianize them in spirit and outlook as well as in action and scope. But such is the relentless pressure and persuasion of the vested, vicious interests that these institutions have blindly continued to function along the old lines of "All-Indianism" and to confine their aims to the nationhood of only Pakistan and Bangistan.

In my judgement, that is simply to play into the hands of our enemies. Indeed, at this stage of our own revival and of "India's" re-organization,

it is to compromise the whole future of our Millat. For it secures nothing, but sabotages everything. On the one hand, it imperils the integrity of even Pakistan and Bangistan—the twin zonal states which represent the apotheosis of the ambitions and aims of these "All-India" institutions. On the other hand, it surrenders to "Indianism" the being and well-being of the 35,000,000 Muslims living outside Pakistan and Bangistan. Thus, in effect, it concedes some of the territorial claims of "Indianism" even over our two nations in Pakistan and Bangistan and chains to the country of India fully one-third of our Millat, living outside these two countries.

In view of the grievous harm that this negative, if not neglectful, policy of these "All-India" institutions is doing to the nationhood of our eight nations outside Pakistan and Bangistan, and to the rise of all in their own countries and islands as members of the Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, I have felt in duty bound to meet the need for a "Dinian" organization myself and, to meet it, I have founded the All-Dinia Milli Movement.

In taking this step, I have been equally motivated by the obvious importance of the fact that, if started now when our national movements are beginning their work and our nations are assuming their true form, the Movement will become part and parcel of their lives and thereby prepare the ground for the establishment of the Pak Commonwealth of nations. Indeed, as our nations will grow under it, it will from the very beginning help them to lie as members of the Millat and to labour not only for their individual national causes but also for the common cause of the security of all and of the Mission of the Millat in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Basis of the Movement

The basis of the All-Dinia Milli Movement is the equality of our ten national movements between movement and movement, and of our ten nations between nation and nation; the independence of each nation in its individual national homelands, and the supremacy of each national movement in its individual sphere; the common ideology of our national movements and nations, and their common loyalities to the cause of our Millat and her Mission in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Aims of the Movement

The aims of the All-Dinia Milli Movement are:

(*a*) To cliam for our Millat at least ten nations, ten countries, six seas, and four groups; namely, Pakistan, Bangistan, Osmanistan,

Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan in the Continent of Dinia; Safiistan and Nasaristan in Ceylon; the Alam Islands in the Maplian Sea, the Ameen Islands in the Safian Sea, and the Ashar and Balus Islands in the Bangian Sea.

(*b*) To co-ordinate the ten national movements already founded to work for the integration of individual nations in their respective territorial spheres; namely, the Pakistan National Movement, Bangistan National Movement, Osmanistan National Movement, Siddiqistan National Movement, Faruqistan National Movement, Haideristan National Movement, Muinistan National Movement, Maplistan National Movement, Safiistan National Movement, and Nasaristan National Movement.

(*c*) To animate these movements with the Pak concept of "Dini-anism," to organize their work for the establishment of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, and to foster their dedication to the sacred cause; namely, the achievement of the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of our Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

Nations of the Millat!

In the name of these aims I ask you all to support the All-Dinia Milli Movement. In making this appeal for your support, I feel fortified by the fact that these are the very aims to the achievement of which we all, since 638, remain pledged before Allah and His Rasool, and for the achievement of which have lived and died all our heroes and martyrs, our sages and soldiers, and our kings and emperors.

I expect all will realize that for us there is nothing more beneficient, nothing more blessed, and nothing more binding in life than these aims. They are the foundation of our history and the fount of our hopes, the soul of our lives and the symbol of our liberties. They demand of us that we live, labour, and, if necessary, die for their achievement. For only their achievement can redeem our sacred pledge and honour our great dead, secure our national existence and ensure the sovereign freedom of our Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her Mission throughout the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

In that realization, let us all turn our faces towards the Holy Kaba, bow before Allah and His Rasool, and rededicate ourselves to the achievement of these noble, historic aims, handed down to us by our ancestors. And then, as we rise from our Sajdah, let us all salute the memory of

Marshal Muhammad Qasim and his successors, embrace the cause of their sacrifices, and step forward to make a success of the All-Dinia Milli Movement which stands for the triumph of that cause under the Crescent in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

For the glory of the Faith!

For the greatness of the Fraternity!

For the good of the Fatherlands!

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INDIA

The Continent of Dinia or the Country of Doom?

The Dinia Continental Movement,

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INDIA

The Continent of Dinia or the Country of Doom?

Note

In announcing the foundation of the Dinia Continental Movement, I address this statement to the non-Indian nations who are being denationalized—and "Indianized"—by the Indo-British Condominium in the name of the Myth that "India" is "the country of India," and that all the peoples living therein are "Indian" by nationality, and their territories, mere provinces of "India".

I ask the non-Indian nations to give their most careful thought to the supreme issue discussed in this statement, and to extend their fullest support to the Dinia Continental Movement, which stands for the repudiation of that Myth and for the acceptance of the truth that "the country of India" is"the Continent of Dinia", and consequently for the recognition of the nationhoods of the non-Indian nations as distinct from the Indian nation, and for the creation of their homelands as countries separate from India.

The Movement stands for the realization of this aim because only that can save the non-Indian nations from "Indianization" and establish their sovereign nationhoods in their separate homelands, enable them to put an end to the Indo-British Condominium, and qualify them to resume their rightful places in the Comity of Nations.

Sovereign Nations in Homelands or Sub-Nations in Hindoolands?

NATIONS OF INDIA!

It is time to realize that we, the non-Indian nations, who comprise the Muslims, Dravidians, Akhoots,* Christians, Sikhs, Buddhs, and Parsis, are, and ever have been, the victims of "*The Myth of Indianism*". That is the Myth which teaches that India is "the country of India," i.e., the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos; and which has been built up by the Caste Hindoos, buttressed by the British and, thanks to our own folly, believed by the world.

Past Record of the Myth

False in its origin and foul in its teachings, this Myth, from its very beginning, has wrought havoc and ruin to the cause of human freedom in the world. Throughout the ages it has compromised the status of Asia, distorted the history of Dinia, and degraded our peoples who have had the misfortune to live and to die in its sphere of domination.

Indeed, such is its evil spirit that, though left stripped of every excuse for its mischievous activity since 711, yet, throughout the last thirteen centuries of its vogue, it has mentally enslaved and socially enchained, nationally "minoritized" and territorially disinherited us all. Not only that. It has frustrated our spiritual missions and perverted our civilizations, caged us in India and made India herself a country of doom for all —the Indian as well as the non-Indian nations.

Present Role of the Myth

Nor has it stopped there. On the contrary, thanks to its priests and parasites, it has remained as active as ever and is now busily engaged in sabotaging the revival and recognition of us all as nations.

That is the cynical role which it is playing at present through its first believers, the Caste Hindoos, and its latest beneficiaries, the British Imperialists, who, in spite of their other differences, are co-operating with one another to canonize it anew and to preach its fatal cult with a

* Depressed Classes. The word "Akhoot," derived rather irregularly from the Arabic root "A *kh*," means "brethren." It is the antithesis of the term "Achhoot," meaning Untouchable, which is used by the Hindoos for the Depressed Classes.

I have coined it to expess the Muslim condemnation of the Hindoo use of the term "Achhoot" for the Depressed Classes, to symbolize the Muslim attitude towards them, and to impress upon them the Islamic creed of the universal brotherhood of man.

view to perpetuating its strangle-hold on us all in the Continent of Dinia.

Why are they doing that?

The Caste Hindoos, who are more numerous than all our nations combined, are doing it because to them the existence of the Myth gives an opportunity first of keeping us mixed with themselves, then of disintegrating us as nations, and finally of absorbing us into their Indian nation. The British are doing it because to them, as an imperial power, the existence of the Myth gives an opportunity first of keeping us and the Caste Hindoos intermingled, then of exploiting our conflict, resulting from that intermingling, to strengthen their hold on India, and finally of justifying before the world, by citing the record of that conflict, their imperial rule over all the nations in India.

So it is to maintain their respective positions of sub-lordship and over-lordship that both the Caste Hindoos and the British Imperialists are hymning the Myth and hypnotising us—the non-Indian nations—into accepting its teachings and, thereby, committing national self-immolation and submitting to the Indo-British Condominium.

To rationalize—and to realize—their aims, they are using two main arguments. First that the unity of "the country of India" is too natural to permit of its partition into separate homelands for all the Indian and the non-Indian nations. Secondly, that the constitutional principle of "one country, one nation" is so decisive as to reduce even our hundred and ten million Muslims, sixty million Akhoots, forty million Dravidians, seven million Christians, and six million Sikhs—to the position of mere subnations and satellites of the Indian nation, and thereby to disqualify each one of us from claiming the status of distinct sovereign nations in our own homelands, i.e., the areas to which we are individually entitled in proportion to our populations in the "country of India".

It is obvious that both these arguments are pure cant and casuistry. For the assumption of the unity of the so-called "country of India" is contradicted by the facts of its geography and history; and the application to its case of the constitutional principle of "one country, one nation" is disputed by all the canons of International Law.

Might with Method

The truth is that, in their heart of hearts, both the British Imperialists and the Caste Hindoos know this. Yet, in utter disregard of that knowledge, they assume the unity of India, invoke the principle of "one country, one nation", and enforce both—the mythical unity and the constitutional principle.

What does all this mean?

It means might with method; in other words, a firm stand by the Anglo-Hindoo Entente for their own present and future purposes; and a final warning to us, the non-Indian nations, that, in the name of the Myth, they won't let us be sovereign nations in separate homelands in the Continent of Dinia, but will hold us down as the sub-nations and satellites of the Indian nation in "the country of India".

Our Choice: Myth-destruction or Self-destruction

False but final, that is their position. What is ours? It can only be summed up as a choice between life and death; that is to say, between Myth-destruction and Self-destruction. For it is sun-clear that if we do not destroy the Myth, the Myth will certainly destroy us.

It is, therefore, time for us all to realize the fatefulness of our position, and, in that realization, make our choice.

As we do that, we must remember that, for each one of us, everything is at stake; and that, to save everything, this is our last and our best opportunity. For now, as never before, the Myth is not only discredited but also damned; and its supporters, though materially powerful, are morally powerless. They are aware both of the weakness of their case and of the strength of ours. So, if now we all challenge the Myth and give it a smashing blow, it will die a deserved death, and we shall all be free. But if we dilly-dally and miss this opportunity, the Indo-British Entente will reimpose it upon us in all its tyranny. In that case, everything will be lost, and we shall all be the slaves of the Indian nation, perhaps for centuries, perhaps forever.

My Choice is Made

In realization of the fatefulness of our position, so far as I am concerned, my choice is made. It is to destroy once for all the Myth that India is "the country of India," to establish forever the truth that it is "the Continent of Dinia," and thereby save and sovereignize the nations of the Millat and, given the opportunity, help others to do the same for themselves.

In recording this choice, I wish to make no secret of the fact that it is primarily inspired by the duty I owe to my Millat, whose spiritual decay and social decline, whose military defeat and political downfall, were, in my judgment, all due to the teachings of the Myth. Furthermore, it actually represents Part VI of the Pak Plan, which deals with the cause of the

Continent of Dinia, whose creation will write "Finis" to the territorial tyranny practised by the Myth in the name of the geographical unity of "the country of India". Finally, ideally, I am dedicated to do all I can to make it national and Milli, international and universal, in order to fulfil the mission of my life, which is to change for ever the foundations, the framework, and the form of the political thought, expression, and action of the nations of the Millat and of all other nations, including even the Caste Hindoo, with a view to creating a comity of sovereign nations, living in separate Homelands in the Continent of Dinia, working out their individual national destinies in their own ways, and making their individual national contributions to the solution of the common problems of Dinia, of Asia and of the world.

Let others make their choice

That is the full and frank explanation of my choice. Dictated as it is by the misdeeds and dangers of the Myth to my Millat, I do hope it will be shared, in their own interests, by all other victims of the Myth. I mean, the Dravidians, Akhoots, Buddhs, Christians, Sikhs, and Parsis, most of whom have not only suffered at its hands much more than have the Muslims, but are sure to suffer still more. This for obvious reasons. They are, as compared with the Muslims, smaller in number, more "indianized" in outlook, less acutely conscious of the dangers of the Myth, and, consequently, more exposed to its subtle activities which are ever inspired by its suppressive intentions and soul-killing aims.

I trust they all will endorse this indictment of the Myth and this appraisal of their prospects under its aegis. Indeed they must, because the indictment is based on their own histories and the appraisal is supported by their own present plight as well as by the future programme of the exploiters of the Myth.

If they do, then they must act in realization of the fact that at the root of all their troubles lies this Myth; and that, so long as it exists, for them to try to improve their individual positions vis-a-vis one another is to treat the symptoms of the disease rather than the disease itself. To be more accurate, it is to trifle with the symptoms and to spread the disease and to have themselves scourged by it.

The Writing on the Wall

Let them make no mistake about it. In the country of India—as for the Muslims, so for them—the fate of national subordination is

inescapable. They cannot dodge it; they cannot defy it; they cannot defeat it. The reason is that, even if they achieve the recognition of their distinct nationhoods in the country of India, they can never be sovereign nations in separate homelands. On the contrary, they will ever be the sub-nations and satellites of the Indian nation in, at best, the re-named regions of India—which is, and ever will be, another name for the Hindoo lands.

That is the writing on the wall. Let them read it and grasp its meaning. In case of any doubt about the fundamental distinction between sovereign nationhood and sub-nationhood, let them refer to the history of the Bavarians of Bavaria in Imperial Germany. It will tell them that, in spite of the recognition of their own state and king, the Bavarians were still a unit of the German nation, their territory still a component state of Germany, and their nationality in International Law still German.

This should convince them that in the country of India they would, at best, be like the Bavarians of Bavaria in Germany. And even that only politically, not morally. For, morally, they won't have the sense of patriotism and pride in India, which the Bavarians had in Germany. The Bavarians had it because they were German and, therefore, for them to merge themselves into Germany was an act of genuine patriotism.

They, the non-Indian nations, cannot have it because they cannot even pretend to be Indian; they cannot even pass off the merging of their entities into India as an act of patriotism. The reason is they simply are not Indian. For if they were Indian, they wouldn't be fighting, like the Muslims, against being treated as Indian and for being recognized as Dravidians, Akhoots, Buddhs, Christians, Sikhs, and Parsis.

That fact alone proclaims the difference between their moral position in India and that of the Bavarians in Germany. Furthermore it explains why, if they keep themselves in India, they won't have any defence before their peoples and posterity. Finally, it shows that if they agree to merge themselves into India, they will belie their national histories, betray their national struggles, and abandon their national hopes. Need one add that, if they do this, they will richly deserve and certainly receive, the strongest condemnation both from their peoples and from their posterity.

Let them discuss it among themselves and decide it for themselves. I am positive that, in the name of sovereign nationhood, my choice is the only one open to them. Indeed, there never was, and never will be, any other choice. For history shows that, throughout the ages, in similar crises all proud nations have ever made this very choice and fought to the last man to maintain their sovereign nationhoods.

If they follow this ancient tradition of proud nations and make the

choice I have made, then it is mere commonsense that they—the Dravidians, Akhoots, Buddhs, Christians, Sikhs, and Parsis—should make common cause with us, the Muslims, in order to destroy the Myth that India is "the country of India," and to establish the truth that it is "the Continent of Dinia," and thereby save and sovereignize themselves as nations.

How to Destroy the Myth and Establish the Truth?

In view of the newness and magnitude of this dynamic choice, the comradely spirits among the nations concerned may well ask how to put it into effect.

I shall answer this question here and show that its implementation depends ultimately on the true realization and propagation by us all of two supreme facts. For, more effectively than anything else, it is our own realization and propagation of these facts that will explode the Myth, establish the truth, and thereby inspire all to work for the repudiation of the Myth and for the recognition of the truth by the Caste Hindoos, by the British, and by the world.

The Two Supreme Facts

What are these two supreme facts which are so charged with the fate or fortune of us all?

The first is that the vast and varied lands which are now commonly called the "COUNTRY" of India are, *geographically as well as historically*, a "CONTINENT." And the second is that what is now erroneously known as "INDIA"—the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos—is, *creedally as well as humanly*, "DINIA"—the joint domain of several religions and fraternities.

First Fact: The COUNTRY of India is a CONTINENT

I shall start off with the first fact, deal with it from both the geographical and historical points of view, and endeavour to prove that the "*Country*" of India is in fact a "*Continent*".

(a) Its Geographical Aspect.

Geographically, what is the distinction between a "*country*" and a "*continent*"?

In terms of geography, whereas a "*country*" is just a fairsized, politically demarcated area of land that possesses some individual characteri-

stics; a "*continent*" is a huge, continuous mass of land that is bordered by mountain chains or high seas, or partly by one and partly by the other. That is what in geography, essentially distinguishes a "*country*" from a "*continent*".

Now, if we open our atlases and, in the light of these broad, basic definitions, look at the map of India, we shall observe three outstanding facts and features.

The first is that India is an immense extent of land. In fact, in area it is at least equal to the whole Continent of Europe, excluding Russia.

The second is that, in the north-east, north, and north-west, it is shielded by the highest mountain ranges in the world; and, in the south-east, south, and south-west, its shores are washed by a vast ocean and high seas.

The third is that India is divided off from the Continent of Asia by barriers even more stupendous than those which separate the Continent of Asia from the Continents of Europe and Africa, or the Continent of North America from that of South America.

These three facts are conclusive in themselves; and, taken together, they prove that geographically, in point of size, structure, and setting, India is a "*continent*", not a "*country*"; that actually it possesses all the main characteristics of the continents of the globe; and that semantically, like Asia, Africa, North America, South America, and Europe, it deserves to be termed and treated as a "*continent*" in itself.

(b) Its Historical Aspect.

So much for the geographical aspect of the fact that the "*country*" of India is a "*continent*". What of its historical aspect?

In terms of history, whereas a "*country*" means a respectable sized unit of territory that is, as a rule, uni-lingual, uni-cultural, uni-national, and uni-statal; a "*continent*" signifies an aggregation of such territorial units and is, as a rule, multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-national, and multi-statal. In other words, whereas the history of a "*country*" is, in general, that of one land, one language, one culture, one nation, and one sovereign state; the history of a "*continent*" is, in general, that of many lands, many languages, many cultures, many nations, and many sovereign states. That is the fundamental distinction between the history of a "*country*" and of a "*continent*".

Now, if in the light of this fundamental distinction we glance at any history text-book on India, we shall find that the history of India is definitely

that of a "*continent*", not of a "*country*".

The reason is that, like any other continent, though, in incidentals, it is the history of a vast region, inhabited by peoples possessing certain traits of physical affinity and living for a few short spells under administrative unity; yet, in its essentials, it is the history of many separate countries which have, throughout the ages, been inhabited by many distinct peoples, with different languages, philosophies, and civilizations, and organized for the most part into sovereign states, ruled by their own kings or emperors.

This was the case in the twenty centuries of the Dravidian Period of the history of India, in the twenty-one centuries of the Hindoo Period, and in the twelve centuries of the Muslim Period. Indeed, in its essentials, it is much the same today after the 150 years of the British Period.

The fact that it is much the same today is all the more remarkable because, in the British Period, the vast resources of the Anglo-Hindoo Entente have been systematically employed to destroy the ancient distinctions and divisions of India; yet their indestructibility is such that they have survived in their entirety. The result is that, like any other continent, India remains as divided as ever. I mean divided religiously and ideologically, linguistically and culturally, territorially and nationally.

Again, these facts which, in point of truth, are incontrovertible and, in point of time, cover no less than fifty-five centuries of its history, prove that, historically, India is and ever has been in all but name a "*continent*".

Such is the testimony of geography and history on the first supreme fact—a testimony which proves that India is a "*continent*", not a "*country*".

Second Fact: "INDIA" is "DINIA"

Now I shall deal with the second supreme fact and show that, creedally and humanly, "*India*" is "*Dinia*".

In the discussion of this fact as the words "*India*" and "*Dinia*" are the key words, I had better first make their meanings perfectly clear.

To begin with, it should be noted that the word "*Dinia*" is composed wholly of the letters of the word "*India*", the only change involved being the transposition of the central letter *D* in "*India*" to the first place to make it "*Dinia*". That is all.

Then, it should be firmly grasped that, in spite of its origin in the Sanskrit word *Sindhu*, its evolution in the Greek word *Indus*, and its consummation in the present English form, the word "*India*", as applied to these lands, has ever meant, still means, and ever will mean the lands of

Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos; and the word "*Dinia*", in spite of its origin in the Saracenic word "*Din*" and its evolution in the present Urdu form, signifies and ever will signify the lands of "*Dins*" (religions), whatever they are, and of their followers, whoever they may be. That is to say that whereas the word "*India*" defines the lands as the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos and consequently denies the existence and share therein of Dravidianism and Dravidians, of Akhootism and Akhoots, of Buddhism and Buddhs, of Islam and Muslims, of Sikhism and Sikhs, of Christianity and Christians, and of Zoroastrianism and Parsis, and misrepresents all peoples as Caste Hindoos in the lands of Caste Hindooism; the word "*Dinia*" defines these lands as the joint domain of all the religions and their followers found therein, and consequently acknowledges the existence and share therein of them all, and describes them as the peoples of the lands of religions—without reference to any particular religion or fraternity.

Finally, it should be understood that my sole, supreme reason for defining the lands and describing the peoples by the word "*Dinia*" is the fact that religion as such is the most prominent characteristic of all the peoples living in the lands of "*Dinia*". Indeed it plays the most vital part in their lives and, now as ever, defines their national entities, inspires their national ideologies, shapes their national histories, and sustains their national hopes.

After these explanatory remarks on the significance of the words "*India*" and "*Dinia*", I come to the discussion of the second supreme fact that, creedally and humanly, "*India*" is "*Dinia*".

"INDIA" was "DRAVIDIA"

First of all we must remember that, in the course of ages, no country or continent in the world has retained its original name, or has always had the same name as it has at the present time. On the contrary, the names of all countries and continents have changed—and will change—with the change of their moral and human content. This is natural: it is logical.

Now, in this respect, what is true of other countries and continents is equally true of India. For it too has not always been known as "*India*", and cannot hope to be known as "*India*" for ever. Indeed, to go back no further than historical times, from 3500 to 1500 B.C., i.e., for twenty centuries, it was actually "*Dravidia*".

Why was it "*Dravidia*"?

The answer is that, throughout those centuries of its history, it was

the exclusive domain of Dravidianism and Dravidians—their religion, language, culture, and civilization.

This in brief, is the creedal and human explanation for India's being "*Dravidia*"—for twenty centuries. Surely it is an explanation which is perfectly valid because in usage, in law, and in history, the right to name and object belongs to him who owns it.

"DRAVIDIA" **changed into** "INDIA"

How then did "*Dravidia*" become "*India*"?

"*Dravidia*" became "*India*" because—by 1500 B.C.—the Caste Hindoos completed its conquest, crushed Dravidianism and Dravidians, colonized the lands with their own people, and made them practically the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos—their religion, language, culture, and civilization.

In the process of doing that, they gave the lands a new name which finally became "*India*" and symbolized the lands as the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos.

That is how "*Dravidia*" was changed into "*India*".

Though the name "*India*" was obviously a misnomer in the case of most of the lands to which it applied and still applies—lands lying thousands of miles away from the Indus—yet one can see that essentially in this change of "*Dravidia*" into "*India*" similar causes produced similar effects. That is to say that the creedal and human factors which first made the lands Dravidia, now made them India.

This state of affairs lasted for centuries; but it couldn't last for ever. Sooner or later it was bound to be challenged and changed. And so it was.

In the sixth century B.C., the first challenge came into it in the birth of Buddhism, and by the end of the third century B.C., the position was definitely altered. But Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos met the challenge, banished Buddhism from the lands, and restored substantially the status quo ante.

"INDIA" **converted into** "DINIA"

Time marched on; and, in its march, it brought to these lands the Message of Islam in 638, and the Millat of Islam in 710. The result of the arrival of the Message and of the appearance of the Millat was that, after 710, India was no longer "*India*".

What happened to it after 710?

After 710 began its conquest by Muslims. They colonized its lands with their co-religionists, welcomed large numbers of its inhabitants to

Islam, and built up a mighty Millat which conquered and ruled it for twelve centuries. What is more, in the course of these centuries, they changed for ever its core and creed, its character and composition, and thereby from being the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos, transformed it into the joint domain of at least three great religions and three great fraternities—Dravidianism and Dravidians (who had revived under Islam), Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos, Islam and Muslims. In other words, from 711 onwards they slowly but surely converted India into "*Dinia*".

It is hardly necessary to add that the explanation of the conversion of India into "*Dinia*" lies in the same creedal and human grounds as those which made it first "*Dravidia*", and then "*India*".

The clock of history didn't stop there either. It never does. It kept ticking away century after century and, in that process, turning out fresh forces. One of these forces was Sikhism and Sikhs. It appeared in 1499 as the fourth party in these lands—still misnamed India, the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos. Naturally the appearance of this party made the lands, despite their misnomer, the joint domain of four great religions and four great fraternities and there by, creedally and humanly, still further confirmed them as "*Dinia*".

"The world's a scene of changes", they say. The world—and, one may add, India in particular! The relative significance of the appearance of Sikhism and Sikhs, as the last party, endured only up to 1757. In that year there came, in organized form, Christianity and Christians to these lands, still mis-styled India—the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos. This added yet another religion and another fraternity to the existing seven religions and seven fraternities, including Akhootism and Akhoots, Buddhism and Buddhs, Zoroastrianism and Parsis, and thereby still further exposed the falsity of calling the lands "*India*"—the exclusive domain of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos —and established the truth of their being "*Dinia*"—the joint domain of Dravidianism and Dravidians, Akhootism and Akhoots, Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos, Buddhism and Buddhs, Islam and Muslims, Sikhism and Sikhs, Christianity and Christians, and Zoroastrianism and Parsis.

This concludes the discussion of the second supreme fact and shows that creedally and humanly India is "*Dinia*".

"DINIA" DEMANDS RECOGNITION

The proof of these two supreme facts once for all destroys the Myth

that India is "*the country of India*" and establishes the truth that it is "*the Continent of Dinia*".

Further, it shows that, in re-canonizing the Myth and in rejecting the truth, the Indo-British Entente is not only perpetuating a crime against our seven religions and seven fraternities, but, also, committing a fraud upon humanity and a falsification of history.

Furthermore, it confers on us the right to demand the formal repudiation of the Myth and the full recognition of the truth from the Caste Hindoos, from the British, and from the world; and imposes upon us the duty to press that demand at all costs and with all the power at our command.

Finally, it ensures us the support of the science of semantics, of the practice of nations, and of the commonsense of mankind. For the science of semantics lays down the rule that, to be true, a name or title must signify the reality of the subject named—a rule which has already been acted upon in changing the old myth-born names of the present-day provinces of "India". The universal practice proclaims that names of most countries and continents, and of all nations and fraternities, do reflect their content, character, and composition. And the commonsense of mankind declares that to call "the Continent of Dinia" "*the country of India*" is at least as absurd as to call America, *Red India*; Tunis, *Carthage;* France, *Gaul;* or Afghanistan, *Gandhara.*

NATIONS OF INDIA!

For centuries we have blindly submitted to the "the Myth of Indianism" and suffered damnation. That submission and that suffering must now end. For now we know the truth and must work to ensure our salvation. To do that successfully and speedily, we must unite to exercise our right and to fulfil our duty in order to create the Continent of Dinia. We must realize that, whatever may be our differences on other issues, the cause of the Continent of Dinia is common to us all; and that on its success depends the national life and liberty, the national position and status of us all—Muslims, Dravidians, Akhoots, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhs, and Parsis.

Inspired by this realization we must begin to exercise our sovereign right and to discharge our solemn duty by first of all recognizing the truth of the Continent of Dinia ourselves. This is most vital. The laws of Nature demand it as do the laws of Nations. They demand it because, in Nature, inner-recognition ever precedes outer-recognition; and, in the Comity of Nations, self-recognition is the pre-requisite of world-recognition.

Let us, therefore, conform to the laws of Nature and of Nations and make the beginning with our own recognition of the Continent of Dinia. In so doing, let us feel fortified by the fact that we do not deny the existence and interests of any religion or fraternity; that we demand merely the recognition of the existence and the interests of our own religions and fraternities; and that, for us, not to demand that recognition would be an act religiously of renegation, morally of self-degradation, territorially of self-disinheritance, and nationally of self-destruction.

Foundation of the Dinia Continental Movement

To exercise my own right and to discharge my own duty I have made this beginning; and, to work for the recognition of the Continent of Dinia, I have founded the Dinia Continental Movement. It is a movement which transcends all "communalisms" and "nationalisms", all "provincialisms" and "regionalisms"; and which means to give them all a higher and nobler significance.

Its membership is open to all those people who, irrespective of religion and race, of nationhood and nationality, of local patriotism and territorial allegiance, believe in the cause of the Continent of Dinia and are prepared to work for its success and triumph.

I ask all such people to join the Movement the aim of which is to remove the denationalizing, disinheriting, and dispiriting effects of "*Indianism*" and to introduce the nationalizing, acknowledging, and inspiring influences of "*Dinianism*". In other words, the Movement stands for the replacement of "*Indianism*" by "*Dinianism*" and of "*countryism*" by "*Continentalism*". This it does for the good of all the nations concerned. For only "*Dinianism*" and "*Continentalism*" can save the nations from the doom awaiting them in the country of India, and secure them their permanent deliverance in the Continent of Dinia. That is a Continent of sovereign nations, living in separate homelands, working out their individual national destinies in their own ways, and making their individual national contributions to the solution of the common problems of Dinia, of Asia, and of the world.

In that spirit, I ask all fraternities—Dravidian, Akhoot, Caste Hindoo, Buddh, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, and Parsi—to support the Dinia Continental Movement and so actively vindicate the sincerity of their oft-expressed interest in the true welfare of all nations and all religions. For it is that welfare of all nations and fraternities which the Movement seeks in the conversion of the country of India into the Continent of Dinia.

It seeks that welfare in that conversion because nothing else can ensure the realization of the individual nationhoods of all nations in their

separate homelands, the recognition of the equality of all nations in the Comity of Nations, the reflection of their equality as nations in the over-all name "Dinia" for all the lands of the Continent, and the creation among them all of such a sentiment of common unity, of such a sense of common duty, and of such a spirit of common destiny as will inspire them all to live, to labour, and, if necessary, to die for the name and fame, for the freedom and independence, and for the progress and prosperity of the whole Continent of Dinia.

This is the message and mission of the Dinia Continental Movement. It is a message and mission which springs from the eternal laws of life, spells the liberation of all nations and fraternities, and promises the fulfilment of the destiny of the one-fourth of mankind, living in the lands of the Continent of Dinia.

Let all—the Indian and the non-Indian nations—study it. Let those who differ divine a nobler message and mission. Let those who agree work for it—and wait for the verdict of History. I am positive that that verdict will acclaim this message and mission, bless the workers, and vindicate the Dinia Continental Movement.

Long Live The Nations of Dinia!

Long Live The Countries of Dinia!

Long Live The Continent of Dinia!

14

The Pakistan National Movement and the British Verdict on India

The Pakistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

THE PAKISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND THE BRITISH VERDICT ON INDIA

The British Verdict

I have carefully studied the British verdict on the future of India and come to the definite conclusion that it is one of the most biased and vicious verdicts in history. It gives absolute and eternal supremacy to the Caste Hindoos over the whole Continent of Dinia, denies elementary nationhood and sovereignty to the Muslims even in the two countries of Pakistan and Bangistan, seals for ever the fate of all non-Indian nations including the Dravidian, the Akhoot (the Achhoot), and the Christian, and seeks to perpetuate the opportunity for British interference in the affairs of the Continent.

The British Plea

The British are trying to justify this mischievous verdict on the plea of the unity, the defence, and the communications of India and of the insolubility of her Minority Problem. Obviously, that plea is pure cant. It cannot convince the peoples of the Continent of Dinia. It will not confuse the political world. The facts are dead against it—and, what is more, they expose its hollowness.

Firstly, *the Unity of India* has never existed and can never exist with her present territorial and human composition which is arbitrary and unhistorical. Secondly, *the Defence of India* can, in no case, justify the destruction of the non-Indian nations in the Continent; otherwise the defence interests of bigger nations would become the supreme arbiter of

the fate of smaller nations in the world. Further, like the defence of any other country, the defence of India depends, morally, not on her continental size, but on the patriotic devotion of her nations, which the verdict renders impossible; and, militarily, not on her space for "defence in depth", but on the sharpness and range of her weapons. This is all the more true in this atom age which is characterized by weapons of unprecedented destructiveness as well as of illimitable range, and in which "defence in depth" has lost its old meaning. If this were not so, all those countries, including Britain, which are smaller than India and consequently without her space for "defence in depth," could not hope to keep their national freedom and sovereign status. Thirdly, *the Communications of Continental India* do not bar the recognition of her nations' countries any more than the communications of Continental Europe bar the recognition of European countries. Finally, *the Insolubility of the Minority Problem in India* exists only in the British imagination; for, a full and fair solution of that problem is provided in the Pak Plan, which was originally published in 1933 and has thus been before the world for over twelve years.

The Paks and the British Verdict

So much for the British plea, justifying the verdict. As for the British hope that Muslims will accept that verdict, I declare, in the name of the Pakistan National Movement, that we will never accept it and that we will ever oppose it by all possible means. This we will do for the following reasons.

To begin with, the verdict reduces our hundred million Muslims from the status of a mighty Millat to the position of a mere minority. Then, it denies the right to sovereign nationhood of the Muslims of North-West India in Pakistan, of North-East India in Bangistan, of the Deccan in Osmanistan, of Central India in Siddiqistan of Bihar and Orissa in Faruqistan, of Hindoostan in Haideristan, of Rajistan in Muinistan, and of South India in Maplistan. Finally, it "Indianizes" our nations and countries and establishes Caste Hindoo hegemony over our Millat, over one-fourth of mankind, and over the whole Continent of Dinia.

The Paks and the Basis of Negotiations

In rejecting the British verdict, I repudiate also the false and fatal basis on which the Muslim politicians negotiated the Millat's future with all other parties concerned, and any agreements they may have reached on

that basis. I mean the basis:—

(*a*) That "India" is *the Country of India;* when in fact she is *the Continent of Dinia*;

(*b*) That the hundred million Muslims are a mere nation; when in fact they are a mighty Millat, comprising a community of eight nations in the Continent;

(*c*) That the Muslims demand only two states in *the Country of India*, namely, Pakistan and Bangistan; when in fact they demand, and are entitled to, at least, eight states in *the Continent of Dinia*, namely Pakistan, Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan;

(*d*) That *K*ashmir is excluded from Pakistan; when in fact it is an integral and inseparable part of Pakistan and its exclusion will, literally and morally, nationally and militarily, turn *Pakistan* into *Pastan*;

(*e*) That the Muslims, living outside Pakistan and Bangistan, are and will remain "Minority Communities" in the Hindoo-majority Regions of India; when in fact they are distinct nations and, as such, cannot—and will not—remain in the degrading and dangerous position of "minority Communities" in the Hindoo-majority Regions of India; and

(*f*) That India will have a common Central Government to control her Defence, Foreign Affairs, Finance, and Communications; when in fact the very formation of such a government will be fatal to the life, the liberty, and the sovereignty of our nations and our Millat.

The Paks and The Transfer of Power in India.

This brings me to the over-all issue of the "transfer of power" in India. On that supreme issue, I declare that we will never recognize any transfer of power made by the British to the Caste Hindoos. For, we maintain that a valid transfer of power can be made only to the rightful representative of Emperor Siraj-ud-Din Bahadur Shah, who would delegate it to, and divide it among, all nations as his forefathers did throughout the centuries of their supremacy. It can be made only to him because it was from his ancestors or their Muslim, Hindoo, or Sikh viceroys that the British formally and finally took power in India in 1857.

In this connection it is important to remember that what is called power, privilege or position, whether it be personal or family or national, is, in law as in equity, an important part of human moral assets, the dis-

position of which, like that of material assets, is, and has ever been, governed by the principles of grant and reversion, of succession and inheritance. No one can ignore these principles. They constitute the very foundation of human society, of international comity, and of universal morality; and, in the case of India, they demand the transfer of power by the British to the rightful representative of the house of Emperor Bahadur Shah.

This view of the Pakistan National Movement is fully supported by the whole record of history. It is also supported by British precedents. To cite only two. One, Indian; and the other, foreign. It was in compliance with the truth of the principle inspiring this view, that the British restored, in 1799, the power to rule the Mysore State to the rightful representative of the Maharaja of Mysore to whom it had belonged before his defeat and dethronement by Muslims in 1762. And, secondly, in 1941, they with their allies restored the power to rule the Abyssinian Empire to Emperor Haile Selassie who had been defeated and deprived of his Empire by Italians in 1936.

The Paks' Appeal to the Muslims

That sums up the view of the Pakistan National Movement on the British verdict on the future of India, and we hope that the view of other Muslim parties and organizations would be similar. In any case, we stand by it and ask all Muslims to act with courage and conviction, to reject the British verdict and to join our struggle for the creation of Muslim nations in Pakistan, Bangistan, Osmanistan, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Haideristan, Muinistan, and Maplistan, for the co-ordination of these nations in the Pak Commonwealth of Nations, for the formal conversion of *the country of India* into *the continent of Dinia*, and for the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her mission in the Continent.

This is the call of the Pakistan National Movement. Indeed, it is the call of the duty and destiny of all Muslims. Therefore, we must—and we will—all answer it like true Muslims, for on our answer depends not only the survival, safety, and sovereignty of the nations of our Millat in the Continent of Dinia, but also the future and fortunes of our Faith and Fraternity in Asia and in the world.

16, Montague Road,
Cambridge,
ENGLAND.
19th May, 1946.

CHOUDHARY RAHMAT ALI
Founder-President, Pakistan National Movement.

15

PAKASIA

The Historic Orbit of the Pak Culture

The Pakasia Cultural Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First Edition, August, 1946.

To

The Immortal and Inspiring Memory

of

THE MUJAHIDS

Who

In heroic devotion to the sacred cause of Islam

Laid down their lives and thereby laid the foundations

Of the mighty heritage of the MILLAT in Pakasia—

A heritage which

THE PAKASIA CULTURAL MOVEMENT

is pledged

Before ALLAH and HIS RASOOL

To protect and perpetuate in the Orbit of Pakasia.

PREFACE

In 1942 I invited the Millat to take up the cause of the Cultural Orbit of Pakasia. During the four years that have since elapsed, the response of the Millat has been marvellous; and, thanks to that response, the cause of Pakasia has now reached a stage of development where it demands an introduction to the world.

To provide that introduction I have prepared this booklet. It deals briefly with the fundamental reasons for the formal definition of the Orbit, with the elementary facts concerning its territorial and human composition, and with the cultural future of its peoples.

I earnestly hope that it will serve that purpose, make the world realize the true significance of Pakasia, and above all inspire the Pakasians to ensure the fulfilment of the Mission of the Pak Culture throughout its age-old Orbit.

16, Montague Road, CHOUDHARY RAHMAT ALI
Cambridge,
ENGLAND.
5th August, 1946.

PAKASIA

The Historic Orbit of The Pak Culture

PAKASIA is that vast and varied region of South Asia where for over thirteen centuries the Pak Culture, born of Islamic inspiration and Saracenic influence, has been predominant. And where, as a natural result of its predominance, its liberating message has left an indelible mark on all religions and races. And, finally, where it promises to become supreme to the lasting good and greatness of the one-fourth of humanity that is living there.

I. NAME:—The name "Pakasia", which was given to that region by the present writer, was essentially inspired by three considerations of vital importance to the whole future of the Pak Culture:—

The first consideration was to register the profound achievement of the Pak Culture in the moral and intellectual history of all the peoples of that region of South Asia. The second was to protect and preserve the region itself as "Pakasia" against the sinister designs of the Caste Hindoos, who have throughout been determined to reconvert it into "Hindasia". And the last was to record for ever the natural right and noble resolve of the standard-bearers of the Pak Culture to ensure its final supremacy in the Orbit of Pakasia.

Such, in brief, were the considerations that led me to christen that region "Pakasia". In view of the fundamental truth animating these considerations, it is hardly necessary for me to add that, unlike the terms of Arabasia, Turkasia, Malayasia, and Caucasia—terms which may be said to be in part racial—the name "Pakasia" has absolutely no racial significance; and that, in inspiration and expression as in core and con-

tent, it is merely a cultural designation of that immense region of South Asia which for more than forty generations has been the historic field of the moral, social, and intellectual activities and exertions of the savants and servants of the Pak Culture—the Culture to which "racialism" has ever been, and will ever be, repugnant.

II. COMPOSITION OF PAKISTAN:—In so far as its territorial extent is concerned, the Orbit of Pakasia comprises all countries of the Continent of Dinia, hitherto known as the Sub-continent of India, together with its Seas and its Dependencies.

(*a*) **The Countries of the Continent of Dinia:**

As all students of the Pak Plan know—the Plan which has revolutionized the old concept of the national as well as the territorial composition of South Asia—the Continent of Dinia, as constituted under the Plan, includes the following twenty countries. That is to say, the countries each of which, as is explained below, represents, on the one hand, the natural integration of the old, arbitrarily demarcated, and artificially constituted provinces of the Sub-continent of India and, on the other, the actual or potential fatherland of the nation whose name it bears:—

PAKISTAN:—The territory comprising the famous, historic Mihran Valley, also known as the Indus Valley. This means that Pakistan consists of the Panjab including the Delhi Division, the Cis-Jamna tract from Delhi to Allahabad at present incorporated in the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh, Afghania (the North-West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Sindh, Balochistan, Gujrat, Kachch, and Kathiawar—minus the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos and the Sikhs of Pakistan.

SIKHIA:—The territory representing the proportional area of the Sikhs of Pakistan and comprising the four Sikh Princely states of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, and Faridkot.

HANOODIA:—The Cis-Jamna tract lying between Agrah and Allahabad and representing approximately the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos living in the eastern half of Pakistan.

HANDIKYA:—The territory lying between the northern half of Kathiawar and the Rann of Kachch, and representing approximately the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos

living in the western half of Pakistan.

RAJISTAN:—The territory which is otherwise known as Rajputana and which comprises the Rajpoot states, excluding the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in Rajistan.

MUINISTAN:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in Rajistan.

HINDOOSTAN:—The present-day United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh, excluding the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in Hindoostan and also the Cis-Jamna tract lying between Delhi and Allahabad, which both historically and nationally is an integral part of Pakistan.

HAIDARISTAN:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in Hindoostan.

BANGISTAN:—The territory, the full name of which is Bang-i-Islamistan, and which covers the provinces of Bengal and Assam, excluding the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos of these two provinces.

BANGSAMIA:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos of Bengal and Assam.

FARUQISTAN:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in the provinces of Bihar and Orissa.

BIHAR:—The province of that name without the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in the province.

ORISSA:—The province of that name without the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in the province.

AKHOOTISTAN:—The territory lying between Bihar and Orissa on the one side and Central India on the other, and representing the Akhoot Nation's fatherland in the Continent of Dinia. That is, the nation which has ever been classified by the Caste Hindoos as "the Achchoots," meaning "untouchables," and treated by them as such throughout history.

MAHRASHTAR:—The territory comprising the Bombay Presidency—minus that proportional area of the Muslim Nation in the Presidency which is included partly in Pakistan and partly in Osmanistan.

SIDDIQISTAN:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in Central India.

OSMANISTAN:—The territory comprising the proportional

area of the Muslim Nation in the Deccan.

TAKAMIA:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos of Osmanistan.

MAPLISTAN:—The territory comprising the Malabar District and its adjoining tracts in the Madras Presidency and representing the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in the Presidency.

DRAVIDIA:—The territory comprising most of the Madras Presidency and representing the proportional area of the Dravidian Nation in the Continent of Dinia.

These twenty countries denote the division of the Continent on a national basis—a division which is absolutely essential to its being and well-being.

Those who oppose the division would do well to remember that it is natural and inevitable. For it is imperatively demanded by those forces of history which are irresistible and which have already led to the rise of national states in all the continents of the world, including Europe, where, if we exclude Russia, in about the same area as that of Dinia and with about the same population, no less than thirty-one national countries and states exist—and flourish.

(*b*) **The Seas**:—The Ocean which surrounds the Continent of Dinia on three sides, and which was formerly known as the Indian Ocean, is now called the Dinian Ocean.

It comprises the following seas:

The PAKIAN SEA, the MARHATIAN SEA, the MAPLIAN SEA, the DRAVIDIAN SEA, the SAFIAN SEA, the SIYALIAN SEA, the NASARIAN SEA, the OSMANIAN SEA, the ORIAN SEA, the BIHARIAN SEA, and the BANGIAN SEA, also known as the Bay of Bengal.

It is obvious that, like the Arabian Sea, the China Sea, and the Sea of Japan, each of the above-mentioned seas of the Dinian Ocean bears the name of the nation to whom the right of its defence and control morally belongs.

(*c*) **The Dependencies**:—The Dependencies of the Continent of Dinia comprise the following islands, most of which, being overwhelmingly Muslim, are mentioned here by their Islamic names, which were given as part of the Pak Plan. The old names of

these islands, given by the Caste Hindoos in the days when the islands were populated by them, are mentioned in brackets:— The Alam Islands (the Laccadives) in the Maplian Sea; the Ameen Islands (the Maldives) in the Safiian Sea; Safiistan (the ancient Muslim National Region in Western Ceylon), Ceylon proper, Nasaristan (the ancient Muslim National Region in Eastern Ceylon); the Ashar Islands (the Andamans) and the Balus Islands (the Nicobars) in the Bangian Sea.

III. **AREA**:—The total area of Pakasia is over one million six hundred thousand square miles. This makes it an immense orbit. Indeed, so immense that in comparison with it the spheres of some other cultures look small. For instance, the domain of the Japanese culture is only two hundred thousand square miles, which is about one-eighth of Pakasia. Again, the sphere of the Turkish culture in both Europe and Asia, including even those Turkish regions which lie outside Turkey, does not exceed one million square miles. This means less than two-thirds of Pakasia. Finally, the zone in which the German culture is supreme is about 227,000 square miles. This is less than one-seventh of Pakasia.

IV. **POPULATION**:—Before dealing with the population of Pakasia, let us briefly refer to its peoples.

The most important thing to note about the Pakasians is that they are one of the most heterogenous communities in the world; in fact they include elements of all races and stocks of the human family. Thus there are the Dravidians, Aryans, Semites, Hemites, Scythians, and Mongolians, who are all living dispersed throughout the Orbit; and, who, whatever their religion or race, all feel bound to one another by the common ties of the Pak Culture.

This is a fact of great significance. It makes Pakasia the most cosmopolitan and internationally minded region in the world and promises well not only for the future of the Orbit, but also for that of the world.

The total population of the whole Orbit of Pakasia is 400,000,000. This is an impressive figure by itself and represents one-fifth of the total population of the world.

To realise its full significance in the affairs of the world, one has simply to remember the populations of other cultural regions. Thus, the total number of people living in the sphere of the Turkish Culture is only fifty millions; of German Culture, 80 millions; of Japanese Culture, hundred millions; and of Russian Culture, 180 millions.

That speaks for itself and calls for no comment.

V. RELIGIONS:—Throughout its history, the Pak Culture has promoted religious toleration among the peoples of Pakasia and fostered enlightened understanding of religious thought throughout the world. This is in keeping with the spirit of the Culture which teaches respect for the beliefs of all and realises its responsibility towards all the religions of Pakasia.

These religions are Islam, Dravidianism, Akhootism (the religion of the Akhoots, which is a Muslim name, meaning "brethren" for the people who are called the Achchoots—the Untouchables—by the Caste Hindoos), Caste Hindooism, Sikhism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism.

Though most of the non-Muslim religions have been profoundly influenced by the Pak Culture, at least two of them owe their survival and one its very birth to it. I mean the two religions of Dravidianism and Akhootism, which before the rise of the Pak Culture in 712 A.D. were absolutely crushed by Caste Hindooism. These were revived by the saving and liberating message of the Pak Culture; and, thanks to that message, they are today holding their own and asserting their independent, distinct, and separate entity in Pakasia.

The religion which owes its very birth to the inspiring influences of the Pak Culture is Sikhism. It claims nearly six million people as its adherents and counts as one of the distinct and major religions of Pakasia.

Surely, in the domain of spiritual and moral service, that is an achievement of which any Culture in the world can be justly proud.

VI. THE PRESENT POSITION OF PAKASIA:—To assess the present position of Pakasia as the Orbit of Pak Culture, we must refer to the state of other cultures which still exist therein. If we do so, we shall find that, with one exception, they all-native as well as imported—have lost their vigour and vitality and, consequently, are in a state of decay and decline. This is not to disparage these cultures. It is simply to state a historical fact which is that, having served their cause in their day, they are now dying a natural death.

The only exception is the Caste Hindoo Culture, which is born of the code and creed of Castology. It retains a certain amount of vitality and it is struggling hard to check the advance of the Pak Culture and to recapture the ground it has lost to that Culture. But it cannot succeed. For it is too exclusive. Secondly, the spirit of the times is against it. And, finally, the appeal of the Pak Culture is irresistible and its position impregnable.

Indubitably, therefore, the Caste Hindoo Culture too is facing the crisis of its fate. It is not only not making any new converts, but also losing its old followers who, to satisfy their moral and intellectual needs, are turning to the Pak Culture.

Clearly this is a bad omen for it. For history shows that, when a culture gets to such a state that its own followers cease to believe in its social virtue and value, nothing on earth can save it.

Such is the present position of Pakasia as the Orbit of the Pak Culture. Needless to add, it is a position which is strong, secure and promising.

VII. THE FUTURE OF PAKASIA:—From the present let us turn to the future and, so far as humanly possible, try to see what it holds for Pakasia. If read in the light of history, it offers great possibilities for the Pak Culture and holds every promise of their materialization. For the new dynamic forces, now rising in the Orbit, are all inspired by the ideals and ambitions of the Pak Culture itself. What is more, they are all animated by the fervour and fire of the Pak mission in Pakasia.

In view of that it is obligatory on all true devotees of the Pak Culture to realize that this period of history presents them with a rare opportunity to serve their cause; and that, if they do their duty and make the best use of their opportunity, their cause will triumph throughout the length and breadth of Pakasia.

Let them, therefore, realize their responsibility, rise to the height of their opportunity, and re-dedicate themselves to their cause. For only that realization and only that rededication can ensure the supremacy of the Pak Culture in the Orbit of Pakasia.

16

HAIDARISTAN

The Fatherland of the Haidar Nation

PREFACE

The appearance of a new country in the world is a matter of profound interest to mankind. And to satisfy and sustain that interest is the first duty of the founder of the cause of that country.

To discharge that duty I have prepared this booklet, the aim of which is to introduce Haidaristan to the world and also to explain the reasons for its demand for recognition as a sovereign country in the Continent of Dinia.

I trust the booklet will fulfil that aim, promote true understanding of the justice of the National Cause of the Haidars, and serve as a final warning to the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance that no solution of the Hindoo-Muslim problem can be and will be acceptable to the Haidars unless it guarantees the sovereign national status of Haidaristan and of other countries of the Millat in the Orbit of Pakasia.

16, Montague Road, Choudhary Rahmat Ali
Cambridge,
ENGLAND.
5th August, 1946.

HAIDARISTAN

The Fatherland of the Haidar Nation

Haidaristan is the land of the Haidars—the Muslim nation at present living mixed with the Caste Hindoos in the ancient, historic country of Hindoostan. I mean the country which lies in the north of the Continent of Dinia, and which is also known as the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh—the Provinces which at one time were the most famous centres of Muslim power in the Continent.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS:—To understand and appreciate its true significance, the reader must clearly grasp the following fundamental facts about Haidaristan:—

First, in terms of nationalism, it symbolises, on the one hand, the absolute rejection by Muslims of their present miserable minority position in Hindoostan and, on the other, their irrevocable decision to integrate themselves as a separate sovereign nation in that part of the area of Hindoostan to which by all standards of justice and equity they are entitled according to the proportion of their population in that country.

Secondly, in terms of democracy, it means the practical exercise by Muslims of their elementary right of self-determination. That is, the right to establish which thousands of their own men laid down their lives on the battlefields of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the two World Wars which are claimed to have been fought to secure the existence and integrity of the smaller nations of the world.

Thirdly, in terms of internationalism, it embodies a solemn declaration by Muslims of their wish and will to "live and let live." That this is so is clear from the fact that, if the declaration is accepted by others in the same spirit in which it is made by Muslims, it would lead not only to Muslim national revival and re-organisation in the Gangetic Valley, but also to the crystallisation and consolidation of the whole position of the Caste Hindoos as well as to the formation of a strong Caste Hindoo national state in the remainder of the area of Hindoostan to which they, according to their population, have a just claim.

Lastly, in terms of supreme truths, it is a summons to the Muslims to attend to the saving call of their destiny—a summons which they will certainly answer in the traditional spirit of absolute dedication. They will do this because in the present-day Hindoostan, which they have long served and saved from foreign aggression and devastation, they are threatened with nothing less than national extinction by the Caste Hindoos, who constitute an overwhelming majority of the population and who with sheer weight of their numbers are crushing the Muslims out of existence as a nation in Hindoostan.

That, in a word, is the core and content of the national cause of Haidaristan. Obviously its reasonableness is unquestionable and its appeal to the Muslims irresistible. That is why all freedom-loving people support it, and all Muslims are determined to fight and, if need be, to die for the formal and full recognition of Haidaristan by the Caste Hindoos, by the British, and by the world.

II. NAME:—Though here composed of the letters taken from the names of the original regions of Hindoostan—**Hind**, **Agrah**, and **Awadh**—the word "Haidar" is an Arabic word meaning "lion" and its adoption for the Muslim region of Hindoostan was inspired by the considerations of its historical appeal and eternal inspiration.

First, in the history of Islam, "Haidar" is one of the most beloved and revered names of Hazrat Ali (May the peace of Allah be on his soul). Secondly, in the history of Hindoostan itself, it is a part of the name of King Ghazi-ud-Din Haidar, who himself was named after Hazrat Ali (May the peace of Allah be on his soul) and who was the first Muslim sovereign to establish an independent kingdom in Hindoostan and to raise it to the status of a country.

It will therefore be seen that the sources inspiring the name are spiritual and historical, national and territorial; and also that the name really stands

for the age-old associations of Islam with the country of Hindoostan. That is, the associations which are recorded in history, are appreciated even by the Caste Hindoos, and are crying out for recognition in the creation of Haidaristan. This because only Haidaristan can preserve that heritage which Muslims have won in the country of Hindoostan by their unparalleled sacrifices in the past twelve centuries; and also can fulfil that hope which Muslims have ever cherished for the liberation and salvation of the people of Hindoostan.

It was the consciousness of that history, heritage, and hope which led the present writer to give the name Haidaristan to the Fatherland of the Muslims of Hindoostan; and it is his solemn conviction that the inspiration of this name is preordained to save the Muslims from alien hegemony, to ensure their national integrity, and to perpetuate their religious cause in the Valley of the Ganges.

III. BOUNDARIES:—From the very nature of things Haidaristan had—at least to begin with—to be an enclave. That is, a country within a country. So it lies right in the heart of Hindoostan and is bounded on all sides by that country.

In so far as its precise frontiers are concerned, these have not yet been formally demarcated. This is due to the conspiracy of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance against the recognition of Haidaristan as against that of other countries in the Continent of Dinia.

The Haidars have waited four years to see if the Alliance would change its hostile attitude. But it has not done so, nor seems likely to. So now, despairing of any improvement in the policy of the Alliance and remembering the warning of history against leaving frontiers undefined, they are determined to have them demarcated, if possible with the co-operation of the Alliance, but if necessary without it.

IV. AREA:—Corresponding to their proportion in the population of Hindoostan, the Haidars are entitled to about sixteen per cent. of the total area of Hindoostan, and this gives about seventeen thousand square miles as the area of Haidaristan.

This area can by no means be called small. Like the population of Haidaristan it far exceeds the areas of some of the old, well-established, independent countries of Europe which have stood the test of time, survived two world wars, and played a distinguished part in history. I mean countries such as Denmark, with its area of 16,580 square miles; Switzerland, with 15,950; the Netherlands, with 13,514; Belgium, with 11,750; and Albania, with 11,000.

V. POPULATION:—According to the 1941 census, the Haidars being about sixteen per cent. of the total population of Hindoostan, the population of Haidaristan comes to about 9,000,000.

This is a considerable number. Indeed it is several times the population of some of the well-known countries of the world. Thus, it is nine times the population of Albania, more than five times that of Syria, more than twice that of Denmark and of Switzerland, nearly twice that of Nepal, more than that of Belgium, and almost equal to that of Afghanistan.

Those who study social problems know that satisfactory as is that number, it does not mean the limit in the case of Haidars. Indeed it cannot. For even in present circumstances, which are definitely unfavourable to their growth, they are increasing much faster than most of the non-Muslim nations in the Continent of Dinia. And what is more, it is certain that, given the recognition of Haidaristan, they will, within a century, touch the high figure of 20,000,000.

VI. LANGUAGE:—The language of Haidaristan is Pak, which has so far been known as Urdu. It is also the national literary language of all other nations of the Millat and the *lingua franca* of the whole Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

The Pak language owes its origin to the creative talents of the Haidars. For they were the people who first evolved it and gave it its orthography, etymology and syntax. Not only that. They—their poets and prose writers—imparted to it its spirit, substance, and style, and made it one of the richest and most virile languages in the world.

VII. RESOURCES:—Like Pakistan, Haidaristan is primarily an agricultural country, and at present about seventy-five per cent. of its people are directly or indirectly connected with agriculture and its allied industries. The remaining twenty-five per cent. are mostly occupied in trade and commerce, in professions and administration. It has a good soil, which is irrigated both by canals and by wells; and its chief products are wheat, barley, pulse, tobacco, millet, cotton, sugar, and oilseeds.

The mineral and industrial resources of Haidaristan are considerable, though for the most part these are potential rather than actual. They will be exploited only when the Haidars have secured their national existence, and are free to plan their economic life, to develop their natural wealth and to make use of their industrial assets.

VIII. COMMUNICATIONS:—The communications of Haidaristan, which under existing conditions form part of those of Hindoostan,

may be described as fairly good. Apart from the metalled roads, which are fit for motor and other vehicular traffic, the country is served by three Railway Systems, at present known as the East India, the Oudh and Rohilkhand, and the Rohilkhand and Kumaon. These three Railways carry most of its passenger as well as goods traffic, and connect it with other countries of the Continent of Dinia.

IX. HAIDARISTAN AND THE PAK COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS:—Haidaristan is one of the ten countries of the Millat which are now rising in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which are resolved to give effect to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. That is the Commonwealth which has been the age-long dream of the 100,000,000 Muslims in the Continent, and which is destined to translate into reality their Pan-Islamic ideals and to direct their nations to the final achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her mission throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

The Haidars are as devoted to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations as any other nation of the Millat in Dinia. This is quite natural. The devotion of all springs from the fundamentals of their Faith, is steeled by the teachings of their history, and is sharpened by their understanding of the immediate as well as the ultimate responsibilities of Muslims in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

They are all aware of the fact that only in the capacity of equal members of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations can they achieve their ideals. This is so because here they will be free, yet bound to the Millat through the Commonwealth for the service of the Faith and Fraternity in the world. Secondly, they will be sovereign, yet allied to the other nations of the Millat for the security of one another. Finally, they will be independent, yet inspired to establish in their countries that Brotherhood of Man which is the priceless and supreme gift of Islam to humanity.

X. HAIDARISTAN AND THE CONTINENT OF DINIA:—It is obvious that owing to its geographical situation and strategic position, Haidaristan will be one of the most important countries of the Continent of Dinia. Not only that. The remarkable record of its people in history and their passionate ambition to add to that record make it certain that their Fatherland will play a distinguished role in the future development of the Continent.

That this is by no means an overdrawn picture is shown by the effect

of the very existence of Haidaristan on the future of all other countries of the Continent.

To begin with, the existence of Haidaristan will be a lasting contribution towards ending the age-old conflict between the nations of Dinia, a conflict which is primarily responsible for their degradation since 1857. Secondly, its work for the betterment of its own people will indirectly help the moral and material well-being of the whole Continent. And, finally, the security of its people against exploitation of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance will leave them free to devote themselves to the cause of the peace, progress, and prosperity of Mankind.

XI. HAIDARISTAN AND THE CULTURAL ORBIT OF PAKASIA:—It is an historical fact that, for the most part, the core and content of the cultural heritage of Pakasia is the gift of the Haidars. Indeed no other nation has done what they have done to create that culture, to infuse into it its charm, humanism, and vigour; and to make it the common heritage of all nations of Pakasia.

In view of that, it is certain that the Haidars, who are as proud of this achievement as of the empires and kingdoms won by their forefathers, will ever be found in the van of the nations working to ensure the supremacy of that culture in the Orbit of Pakasia.

XII. CONCLUSION:—That, in a word, is Haidaristan. Its rise marks an epoch in history. That is, an epoch which will ever be associated with the new dawn of Muslim power, with the twilight of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo hegemony, and with the awakening of all the nations of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It must, therefore, be clear to all men of vision that the rise of Haidaristan signifies a fateful revolution in the affairs of the one fifth of the human race living in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. More than that. It means a revolution the repercussions of which will be felt far beyond the frontiers of Dinia—in Asia as well as over the rest of the globe. And no wonder. For in Haidaristan is born again a nation worthy of its great past, confident of its bright future, and blessed by Allah and His Rasool to serve Islam in the world.

In this knowledge, let the world salute Haidaristan, wish it success in its noble struggle, and welcome it into the Comity of Nations, which needs it for the good of Mankind.

17

DINIA

The Seventh Continent of the World

The Dinia Continental Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First Edition, September, 1946.

To

THE NATIONS OF DINIA

Who

Realizing the mortal dangers

of

The Myth of "The Country of India"

to

Their faiths and fraternities, nationhoods and fatherlands

Are fighting for

The Cause of "The Continent of Dinia"

A Cause which

THE DINIA CONTINENTAL MOVEMENT

is pledged

Before GOD and MAN

To serve and secure for ever in the World.

PREFACE

This booklet is a short simple primer of the Continent of Dinia. My purpose in writing it is to restate the cause of the Continent, to renew its claim to recognition by the Comity of Nations, and to expose the Anglo-Caste Hindoo conspiracy against its recognition.

I hope it will serve this purpose and inspire the Dinians to intensify their struggle for the full and formal conversion of the Country of India into the Continent of Dinia. For only that conversion can ensure the national status of them all—Muslims, Dravidians, Akhoots, Caste Hindoos Christians, Sikhs, Buddhs, and Parsis—and enable them to make their contribution to the solution of the problems facing mankind.

16, Montague Road,
Cambridge,
England.
5th September, 1946.

Choudhary Rahmat Ali

DINIA

The Seventh Continent of the World

Since the birth of the Modern Age, geographers and historians have divided the world into six continents. That is, the continents of Asia, Africa, Europe, North America, South America, and Oceania.

This is an elementary fact which every schoolboy knows. But related to it is an elemental fact which even some statesmen do not seem to know. This fact is that the above-mentioned division of the earth's surface, however old and universally accepted it may be, is neither sacrosanct nor eternal; that it does not—and cannot—exclude the possibility of a new division. Mark my words. I say it does not and cannot; for such a possibility has always existed and will always exist.

This means that, if and when it materialises, there will be nothing unique or fantastic about it. For one thing it is natural—and inevitable; and for another it has materialized before more than once in history.

Let me illustrate.

Take the case of the huge mass of land known as the Old World and lying between the Pacific and the Atlantic. Admittedly, created by Nature as a single unit, it remained as such for ages. Indeed no one even dreamed of questioning its unity until the rise of the ideology of Hellenism in the twelfth century B.C. It was this ideology which, for the first time in history, first culturally, then politically, and finally physically divided it into the present-day three continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe. Further, to perpetuate this division, it has like the Mediterranean which separates Africa from Europe used the Suez Canal to symbolize the separation of Asia from Africa.

Again, turn to the case of America, which further illustrates the same truth. We all know that, like the Old World, the New World too was one continent for ages. In fact it remained so until the rise of the ideology of Yankeeism in the eighteenth century. It was this ideology which first politically and then psychologically divided it into two continents in the last century. And finally to eternize that division it has made use of the Panama Canal as a symbol of the physical separation of North America from South America.

These divisions effected by the rise and repercussions of these ideologies not only illustrate the homely truth that what has been done once can be done again, but also focus our attention on the sources of the ideologies themselves. If we study them carefully, we cannot fail to realize that such ideologies are really the manifestation of the inter-play of those eternal, mysterious forces of Nature which move silently and work constantly for the re-construction of the world. Further, that the manifestations of these forces are not subject to the ordinary human conception of time, of space, or of place. This is obvious from the fact that Hellenism is separated from Yankeeism, in point of time, by no less than 32 centuries and, in point of space, by more than 5,000 miles. It is important therefore to remember that such ideologies may be born at any time, at any interval and at any place; and that, when they are, they foreshadow the end of the old order and the beginning of the new in their spheres of activity.

I. THE CAUSE OF THE CONTINENT OF DINIA:—Now it was as a result of the perpetual working of these eternal, mysterious forces of Nature that there was born in 1933 a new ideology, as dynamic and fateful as that of Hellenism in the twelfth century B.C. and Yankeeism in the eighteenth century A.D. This was the ideology of "Pakism"; which, among other potent and powerful things, has created the cause of the seventh continent of the world. That is, the Continent of Dinia, which is the subject of this booklet.

II. WHAT IS DINIA?:—Dinia is the new designation and destiny of the old, ante-diluvian "India", which is dying its well-deserved death. It is obvious that the word "Dinia" is composed of the letters of the word "India" itself and that, in the arrangement of letters, there is only one change. This is the transposition of the letter "d" in "India" to the first place. That is all.

This change, though superficially simple, is semantically significant and morally historic. For it revolutionizes the meaning and message of the name of the lands, revives the fortunes of the 400 million people living in these lands, and profoundly affects the balance of power in the world.

How and why it does this is explained below.

III. THE NEED FOR THE NEW NAME:—The need for the new name "Dinia" arose from the fact that the old name "India" was both a misnomer and a menace.

It was a misnomer because it literally and politically meant that India was the domain of only Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos; when in fact it is the domain of seven other faiths and fraternities, namely, Islam and Muslim, Dravidianism and Dravidian, Akhootism and Akhoot, Christianity and Christian, Sikhism and Sikh, Buddhism and Buddh, and Zoroastrianism and Parsi. That is, the faiths and fraternities which, **religiously and socially**, represent systems and civilizations, conceptions and codes of life diametrically opposed to those of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos; and, **nationally and territorially**, possess heritages, histories, and hopes absolutely distinct from those of Caste Hindooism and Caste Hindoos.

It was a menace because it was being systematically exploited by Indians (Caste Hindoos) to "Indianize" the non-Indians and to make them nationally honourless, rightless, and futureless in the lands of their birth. In other words, it was being used by them as a convenient, cunning argument to deny the national rights of the non-Indian nations, and to define them all as "Indian" in order first to de-nationalize, then to disintegrate, and finally to absorb them all into their own caste-ridden people and polity.

This is how the name "India" was both a misnomer and a menace. This is why, in the interest of the national existence and honour of the non-Indian nations, something had to be done about it; and that something had to be decisive and definitive, historic and epoch-making.

It was to meet this situation that the Almighty Allah—the Creator and Controller of the forces of Nature—inspired the present writer to re-define "India" as "Dinia." For, in saving contrast with "India," "Dinia" means, literally as well as politically, the joint domain of all "**dins**" (religions) and fraternities that flourish therein and thereby puts an end once and for all to the mischief that was being done by the name "India."

This was accomplished years ago as part of the Pak Plan. It was first published to the Millat in 1942 in **"The Millat and The Mission"** and in 1945 was formally issued to all the nations concerned in "**INDIA: The Continent of Dinia or the Country of Doom**?"

IV. THE NEED FOR THE CONVERSION OF "COUNTRY" INTO "CONTINENT":—So much for the change of "India" into "Dinia." Now a word about the conversion of the "country" into a "continent."

This is part of the same definition and of the same Plan. It was demanded by the same supreme considerations and it is justified on similar fundamental grounds.

What are those grounds? I shall explain.

First, there is **the geography of Dinia.** This makes it a vast, clearly defined natural entity, which is shut off from the rest of Asia by sky-kissing mountains in the north-east, north, and north-west; and surrounded by high seas and oceans in the east, south, and west. *Secondly*, there is **the history of Dinia,** which is of a continent, not of a country. For it is the history of distinct countries and distinct nations, possessing separate governments throughout the ages. *Thirdly*, there is **the size of Dinia,** which makes it equal in area to the Continent of Europe without Russia. *Fourthly*, there is **the population of Dinia,** which again is as large as that of Europe minus Russia. *Lastly*, there is **the creedal and cultural diversity of Dinia,** which makes it more like a continent than a country.

These are the supreme truths which justify the definition of the "country" as a "continent."

It is clear that this definition does justice to the past, present, and future of all the peoples and lands which comprise the Continent. It does this because it redresses the disinheriting wrong that was being done to the non-Indian nations by the "Indians" and raises their provinces to the position of countries and their peoples to that of nations. It registers and respects the eternal rights and realities both of the Indian and of the non-Indian nations and ensures the national future of them all in the semantic, spiritual, and territorial entity of the Continent.

Such is the effect of the revolutionary change which has been produced by the ideology of "Pakism" in this region of the globe. It is a change the repercussions of which will be felt in every corner of the world and the echoes of which will be heard in the corridors of history for all time to come.

V. BOUNDARIES:—The Continent of Dinia lies between 8° and 37° North latitude and 61° and 97° East longitude.

It is bounded on the north-east and north by the Jabaliya* and on the north-west by the Hindoo-Kush and Sulaiman Mountains—all three of which divide it from the continent of Asia; and it is surrounded on the south-east by the Bangian Sea, the Orian Sea, and the Osmanian Sea; on the south by the Dravidian Sea; and on the west by the Maplian Sea, Marhatian Sea, and the Pakian Sea.

Politically, Dinia touches the following countries of the Continent of Asia:—

China, Tibet, Nepal, Turkistan, Tajikistan in the north; Afghanistan and Iran in the north-west; and Burma in the east.

It will therefore be seen that, like those of other continents, the boundaries of Dinia are for the most part the creation of its geography, not of its history.

VI. AREA:—The total area of Dinia is 1,581,410 square miles. As already stated, this is roughly equal to the area of the Continent of Europe without Russia and therefore, in point of size, it makes Dinia the sixth largest continent in the world.

VII. PHYSICAL FEATURES:—The Continent may be roughly divided into three regions, viz.: the Jabaliya, the Pak Plain, and the Deccan.

The Jabalia:—This is the vast region of the perpetually snow-covered Jabaliyan Range, which runs for over 1,500 miles from north-west to south-east and which, with the Hindoo Kush, the Sulaimans, and other sub-ranges, forms the natural north-eastern and north-western boundary of Dinia.

It is in this region that most of the great rivers of Dinia take their rise and most of its famous sanatoria and popular health-resorts are situated.

The Pak Plain:—The great Plain lies at the foot of the Jabaliyan Range and comprises most of the rich, fertile, and populous lands of Dinia, including Pakistan, Hindoostan, Haidaristan, Faruqistan, and Bangistan, which are watered by the Mihran (the Indus), the Sutlej, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, and their tributaries.

* "Jabaliya" (Jabl-ul-Aliya), meaning "the Great Mountain," is the new Islamic, Arabic name of the Great Range which the Caste Hindoos call "Himalaya," a Sanskrit term meaning "the Abode of Snow."

In this Plain lie most of the historic places of the Continent, which, now as ever, represent its most famous centres of political activity, education, and industry.

The Deccan:—The Deccan is the southern table-land of Dinia. It lies between the Vindhya Mountains on one side and the Maplistan coast on the other; and it is watered by the Mahanaddy, the Godavari, the *Kistna*, and the *Canvery*.

It has its own place in the history of Dinia and, as in the past so in the future, it will play its part in the evolution and progress of the nations of the Continent.

VIII. COUNTRIES OF DINIA:—The Continent of Dinia, as constituted under the Pak Plan, is at present divided into the following twenty countries, each of which represents, on the one hand, the natural integration of the arbitrarily demarcated and artificially constituted provinces of the old country of India and, on the other, the actual or potential fatherland of the nation whose name it bears:—

PAKISTAN:—The territory comprising the famous, historic Mihran Valley, which is also known as the Indus Valley. This means that Pakistan, as it now is, consists of the Panjab including the Delhi Division, the Cis-Jamna tract from Delhi to Allahabad at present incorporated in the United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh, Afghania (the North-West Frontier Province), Kashmir, Sindh, Balochistan, Gujrat, Kachch, and Kathiawar—minus the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos and of the Sikhs of Pakistan.

SIKHIA:—The territory representing the proportional area of the Sikhs of Pakistan and comprising the four Sikh Princely states of Patiala, Nabha, Jind, and Faridkot.

HANOODIA:—The Cis-Jamna tract lying between Agrah and Allahabad and representing approximately the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos living in the eastern half of Pakistan.

HANADIKYA:—The territory lying between the northern half of Kathiawar and the Rann of Kachch and representing approximately the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos living in the western half of Pakistan.

RAJISTAN:—The territory which is otherwise known as Rajputana and which comprises the Rajpoot states, excluding the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in Rajistan.

MUINISTAN:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in Rajistan.

HINDOOSTAN:—The present-day United Provinces of Agrah and Oudh, excluding the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in Hindoostan, and also the Cis-Jamna tract lying between Delhi and Allahabad, which both historically and nationally is an integral part of Pakistan.

HAIDARISTAN:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in Hindoostan.

BANGISTAN:—The territory the full name of which is Bang-i-Islamistan and which comprises the provinces of Bengal and Assam, excluding the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos of these two provinces.

BANGSAMIA:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos of Bengal and Assam.

FARUQISTAN:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in the provinces of Bihar and Orissa.

BIHAR:—The province of that name without the proportional area of the Muslim Nation living therein.

ORISSA:—The province of that name without the proportional area of the Muslim Nation living therein.

AKHOOTISTAN:—The territory lying between Bihar and Orissa on the one side and Central India on the other, and representing the fatherland of the Akhoot Nation in the Continent. That is, the nation which has ever been classified by the Caste Hindoos as "the Achchoots," meaning "Untouchables," and treated by them as such throughout the ages.

MAHRASHTAR:—The territory comprising the Bombay Presidency—minus the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in the Presidency, which is included partly in Pakistan and partly in Osmanistan.

SIDDIQISTAN:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in Central India.

OSMANISTAN:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in the Decean.

TAKAMIA:—The territory comprising the proportional area of the Caste Hindoos of the Deccan.

MAPLISTAN:—The territory comprising the Malabar region of the Madras Presidency and representing the proportional area of the Muslim Nation in the Presidency.

DRAVIDIA:—The territory comprising most of the Madras Presidency and representing the fatherland of the Dravidian Nation in the Continent.

To those accustomed to think superficially of old "India" as a single country, it may come as a surprise to find that in fact there are in it as least as many as 20 decent-sized, distinct countries which, by all standards of geography and history, of character and content, deserve and demand recognition. However, it is to be hoped that such people will think realistically and realize that this demand for recognition is irresistible, especially when by virtue of the same standards and in about the same area as that of Dinia, the existence is recognized of no less than 31 separate, sovereign countries in Europe without Russia.

IX. ISLANDS:—After the lands of Dinia, we come to its Islands, which form the outposts of the Continent. These are as follows:—

The Alam Islands (the Laccadives) in the Maplian Sea, the Ameen Islands (the Maldives) in the Safiian Sea, Ceylon, the Ashar Islands (the Andamans) and the Balus Islands (the Nicobars) in the Bangian Sea.

The islands of Dinia, with the exception of Ceylon, being mostly inhabited by Muslims, are mentioned here by their Islamic names, which were given them under the Pak Plan. The names in the brackets are the old ones, which were given by the Caste Hindoos in the dim past when they formed the majority of the populations of these islands.

X. SEAS:—The Indian Ocean is now known as the Dinian Ocean and, in keeping with the underlying principle and purpose of the Pak Plan, it is divided into eight seas, which constitute the western and south-western, southern and south-eastern boundaries of the Continent.

These seas, in accordance with world-usage, belong to the nations whose territory they surround and whose coasts they wash and they are therefore named after them.

They are as follows:—

The PAKIAN SEA, the MARHATIAN SEA, the MAPLIAN SEA, the DRAVIDIAN SEA, the SAFIAN SEA, the SIYALIAN SEA, the ORIAN SEA, and the BANGIAN SEA, formerly known as the Bay of Bengal.

XI. POPULATION:—According to the 1941 census, the total population of Dinia is 389 millions. Of this number, roughly speaking, 200 millions are the so-called Indians and the rest non-Indians. The

non-Indians are increasing faster than the Indians and promise to equal them in numbers within a quarter of a century.

It will be noted that the population of Dinia is nearly forty times that of the Continent of Oceania, more than four times that of South America, and nearly three times that of Africa.

To realize the numerical importance of the non-Indian nations in Dinia, one has simply to remember that their population is more than 17 times the total population of the Continent of Oceania, much more than twice that of South America, and more than that of North America, and of Africa.

XII. PEOPLES:—The peoples of Dinia are as diversified as their surroundings. Indeed, they represent practically all ethnical stocks. Thus they comprise Dravidians, Akhoots, Aryans, Semites, Hemites, Scythians and Mongolians.

In terms of nationhoods, they include, on the Muslim side, the Paks, the Bangs, the Osmans, the Faruqs, the Sadiqs, the Haidars, the Muins, and the Mapils; and, on the non-Muslim side, the Dravidians, the Akhoots, the Caste Hindoos, the Bangsamians, the Biharis, the Orians, the Marhattas, the Takamians, the Christians, the Sikhs, the Buddhs, and the Parsis.

This heterogeneity of the peoples of Dinia must serve as a warning to the Anglo-Caste Hindoo politicians. They must realize that their attempts to "Indianize" these distinct nations are foredoomed to failure. This is certain. For such attempts are at least as foolish and impossible as would be the attempts to deprive, say, the Russians, British, Italians, Germans, and French of their distinct nationalities, to impose on them all one nationhood, and to condemn them all to live for ever under one unchangeable regime.

XIII. RELIGIONS:—As already stated, Dinia is the domain of all the important religions of the world; namely, Islam, Dravidianism (the religion of the Dravidians to whom the Continent belonged before its conquest by Caste Hindoos), Akhootism (the religion of the Akhoots, which is the Muslim name, meaning "brethren" for the people who throughout the ages have been described and treated by the Caste Hindoos as Achchoots—the Untouchables), Caste Hindoosim, Sikhism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Zoroastrianism.

It is worth repeating that these religions are not part and parcel of one religion as are Catholicism and Protestantism of Christianity. On the contrary, each of them is based on different tenets of faith and founded by a different Prophet, Reformer, or Leader.

XIV. LANGUAGES:—Exclusive of dialects, of which there are as many in Dinia as in Europe, ten languages are spoken in the Continent. These are Pak (hitherto known as Urdu), Hindi, Panjabi, Rajastani, Bangi, Marathi, Telegu, Tamil, Kanarese, and Malyalam.

All these languages have their own literature and, broadly speaking, represent the national languages of most of the national groups in the Continent.

Pak or Urdu, written in Pak script, has for over three centuries been the *lingua franca* of Dinia; and it is understood in most of the countries of Asia.

XV. CONCLUSION:—This, in a nutshell, is the Continent of Dinia, whose rise is decreed by Divine forces and whose recognition is demanded by the destiny of one-fifth of Mankind; but whose cause is opposed by the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance.

The reason of this opposition is not far to seek. Both the British and the Caste Hindoos know that the success of the cause of the Continent of Dinia would mean the end of their hegemony. For it would automatically raise the so-called "communities" in the "country of India" to the status of nations, elevate the so-called "provinces" of the "country of India" to the position of separate countries, and unite them in common interest to defeat the Alliance and destroy its supremacy. This explains why, to the Alliance, the name of Dinia is anathema, the ideal of Dinia an infamy, and the claim for its recognition sheer madness.

However, the nations of Dinia treat this opposition with the contempt it deserves. They know that it is really the selfish reaction of their callous exploiters and cynical enslavers; which humanity condemns; and against which it supports their struggle. In that knowledge they are carrying on their struggle and are convinced that the day is not far off when it will end in their victory.

It is needless to add that when that day dawns—as dawn it will—it will bring the message of liberation to one-fifth of Mankind, now living under the Anglo-Caste Hindoo hegemony—a hegemony as crippling and corrupt as any known to history.

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BANGISTAN

The Fatherland of the Bang Nation

The Bangistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First Edition, September, 1946.

To

The Immortal and Inspiring Memory

of

THE MUJAHIDS

who

In heroic devotion to the sacred cause of Islam

Laid down their lives and thereby laid the foundations

Of the mighty heritage of the MILLAT

In the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies—

A heritage which

THE BANGISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

is pledged

Before ALLAH and HIS RASOOL

To protect and perpetuate in Bangistan

As in the other lands and islands of the Continent.

PREFACE

The appearance of a new country in the world is a matter of profound interest to mankind. And to satisfy and sustain that interest is the first duty of the founder of the cause of that country.

To discharge that duty I have prepared this booklet, the aim of which is to introduce Bangistan to the world and also to explain the reasons of its demand for recognition as a sovereign country in the continent of Dinia.

I trust the booklet will fulfil that aim, promote true understanding of the justice of the National Cause of the Bangs, and serve as a final warning to the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance that no solution of the Hindoo-Muslim problem can be, and will be, acceptable to the Bangs, unless it guarantees the sovereign national status of Bangistan and of all other countries of the Millat in the Orbit of Pakasia.

16, Montague Road,
Cambridge,
ENGLAND.
16th September, 1946.

Choudhary Rahmat Ali

BANGISTAN

The Fatherland of the Bang Nation

Bangistan is the land of the Bangs—the Muslim nation at present living mixed with the Caste Hindoos in the ancient, historic region of East Dinia. I mean the Region which comprises the Muslim strongholds of Bangal, Assam, and the Ashar and Balus Islands—strongholds which were once the famous centres of Muslim power in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which are destined to win the same dignity in the near future.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS:—To understand and appreciate its true significance, the reader must clearly grasp the following fundamental facts about Bangistan:—

First, in terms of nationalism, it symbolises, on the one hand, the absolute rejection by Muslims of their present position in the Region and, on the other, their irrevocable decision to integrate themselves as a separate, sovereign nation in that part of the Region to which by all standards of justice and equity they are entitled according to their numbers in the population.

Secondly, in terms of democracy, it means the practical exercise by Muslims of their elementary right of self-determination. That is, the right to establish which thousands of their own men laid down their lives on the battlefields of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the two World Wars, which are claimed to have been fought to secure the existence

and integrity of all nations in the world.

Thirdly, in terms of internationalism, it embodies a solemn declaration by Muslims of their wish and will to "live and let live." That this is so is clear from the fact that, if the declaration is accepted by others in the spirit in which it is made by Muslims, it would lead not only to Muslim national revival and re-organisation in the Region, but also to the crystallization and consolidation of the whole position of the Caste Hindoos as well as to the foundation of a strong Caste Hindoo national state in the rest of the area of the Region to which they have a just claim.

Lastly, in terms of supreme truths, it is a summons to the Muslims to attend to the saving call of their destiny—a summons which they will certainly answer in the traditional spirit of absolute dedication. They will do this because in the Region, which they have long served and saved from foreign aggression and devastation, they are threatened with nothing less than national extinction by the forces of Indianism.

That, in a word, is the core and content of the national cause of Bangistan. Obviously its reasonableness is unquestionable and its appeal to the Muslims irresistible. That is why all freedom-loving people support it, and all Muslims are determined to fight and, if necessary, to die for the formal and full recognition of Bangistan by the Caste Hindoos, by the British, and by the world.

II. NAME:—"Bangistan" is an abbreviation for "Bang-i-Islamistan", which is composed of the letters taken from the names of the components of the country. It means both the land of the spiritual call of Islam and the stronghold of Islam; and its adoption for the Muslim part of the Region was mainly inspired by the fact that the people of Bangistan not only have played a proud and distinguished role in the history of Islam in East Dinia but are destined to play a still greater role.

It will therefore be seen that the sources inspiring the name are spiritual and historical, national and territorial; and that the name really stands for the age-old associations of Islam with the story of the Region. That is, the associations which are recorded in history, which are appreciated even by the Caste Hindoos, and which are crying out for recognition in the creation of Bangistan. This because only Bangistan can preserve that heritage which Muslims have won in the Region by their unparalleled sacrifices in the past twelve centuries; and also can fulfil that hope which they have ever cherished for the liberation and salvation of the people of the Region.

It will therefore be seen that it was this consciousness of the history,

heritage, and hope of Muslims which led the present writer to give the name Bang-i-Islamistan to the Fatherland of the Muslims of the Region; and it is his solemn conviction that the inspiration of this name is preordained to save the Muslims from alien hegemony, to ensure their national integrity, and to perpetuate their religious cause in the Region.

III. BOUNDARIES:—Bangistan lies in the east of Dinia, and it is bounded on the north by Sikkim, Bhutan, and Tibet, on the south by the Bangian Sea, on the east by Burma, and on the west by Bihar and Orissa.

IV. AREA:—The total area of Bangistan in 154,205 square miles.

This area compares favourably with the areas of some of the old, well-established countries which have stood the test of time, survived two world wars, and played a distinguished part in history. I mean countries such as the Hajaz with its area of 113,000 square miles; Norway with 124,556; and Italy with 131,000.

V. POPULATION:—According to the 1941 census, the population of Bangistan is over 73,000,000.

This compares favourably with the population of some of the well-known countries of the world. Thus it is more than four times the population of Yugoslavia, of Czechoslovakia, and of Iran.

Those who study social problems know that, great as is that number, it does not mean the limit in the case of the Bangs. Indeed it cannot. For even in present circumstances, which are definitely unfavourable to their growth, they are increasing much faster than most of the non-Muslim nations in the Continent of Dinia. And, what is more, it is certain that, given the recognition of Bangistan, they will within a century touch the still higher figure of 100,000,000.

VI. LANGUAGE:—Although the vernacular spoken by a great majority of the Bangs is Bangali, the national language of Bangistan, is Pak, which so far has been known as Urdu. It is also the national literary language of all other nations of the Millat and the *lingua franca of* the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

The Pak language owes a lot to the creative talents of the Bangs. For they have developed it, enriched its vocabulary, and popularised its use. Not only that. They—their poets and prose writers—have improved its spirit, substance, and style, and made it one of the richest and most virile languages in the world.

VII. RESOURCES:—Like Pakistan, Bangistan is primarily an agricultural country, and at present about seventy-five per cent. of its people are directly or indirectly connected with agriculture and allied industries. The remaining twenty-five per cent. are mostly occupied in trade and commerce, in professions and administration. It has a good soil, and its chief products are rice, jute, oilseeds, sugar, tobacco, silk, tea, and coal.

The mineral and industrial resources of Bangistan are considerable, though for the most part these are potential rather than actual. They will be exploited only when the Bangs have secured their national existence, and are free to plan their economic life, to develop their natural wealth, and to make use of their industrial assets.

VIII. COMMUNICATIONS:—The communications of Bangistan, which under existing conditions form part of those of the Region, may be described as fairly good. Apart from the metalled roads, which are fit for motor and other vehicular traffic, the country is served by three Railway Systems, at present known as the East Indian Railway, the Eastern Bengal Railway, and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. These Railways carry most of its passengers as well as goods traffic, and connect it with other countries of the Continent of Dinia.

The principal seaports of Bangistan are Calcutta and Chittagong.

IX. BANGISTAN AND THE PAK COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS:—Bangistan is one of the ten countries of the Millat which are now rising in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which are resolved to give effect to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. That is, the Commonwealth which has been the age-long dream of the 1000,000,000 Muslims in the Continent, and which is destined to translate into reality their Pan-Islamic ideals and to direct their nations to the final achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her mission throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

The Bangs are as devoted to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations as any other nation of the Millat in Dinia. This is natural. The devotion of all springs from the fundamentals of their Faith, is steeled by the teachings of their history, and is sharpened by their understanding of the immediate as well as the ultimate responsibilities of Muslims in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

They are all aware of the fact that only in the capacity of equal members of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations can they achieve their ideals.

This is so because here, although bound to the Millat through the Commonwealth for the service of the Faith and Fraternity in the world, they will be free. Secondly, although allied to the other nations of the Millat for the security of one another, they will be sovereign. Finally, although expected to establish in their countries that Brotherhood of Man which is the priceless and supreme gift of Islam to humanity, they will be independent.

X. BANGISTAN AND THE CONTINENT OF DINIA:—It is obvious that owing to its geographical situation and strategic position Bangistan will be one of the most important countries of the Continent of Dinia. Not only that. The remarkable record of its people in history and their passionate ambition to add to that record make it certain that their Fatherland will play a distinguished role in the future development of the Continent.

That this is by no means an overdrawn picture is shown by the effect of the very existence of Bangistan on the future of all other countries of the Continent.

To begin with, the existence of Bangistan will be a lasting contribution towards ending the age-old conflict among the nations of Dinia, a conflict which is primarily responsible for their degradation since 1757. Secondly, its work for the betterment of its own people will indirectly help the moral and material well-being of the whole Continent. And, finally, the security of its people against exploitation by the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance will leave them free to devote themselves to the cause of the peace, progress, and prosperity of Mankind.

XI. BANGISTAN AND THE CULTURAL ORBIT OF PAKASIA:—It is an historical fact that at least a part of the core and content of the cultural heritage of Pakasia is the gift of the Bangs. Indeed few nations have done more than they have to create that culture, to infuse into it its charm, humanism, and vigour; and to make it the common heritage of all nations of Pakasia.

In view of that, it is certain that the Bangs, who are as proud of this achievement as of the empires and kingdoms won by their forefathers, will ever be found in the van of the nations working to ensure the supremacy of that culture in the Orbit of Pakasia.

XII. CONCLUSION:—That, in a word, is Bangistan whose rise marks an epoch in history. That is, an epoch which will ever be associated

with the new dawn of Muslim power, with the twilight of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo hegemony, and with the awakening of all the nations of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It must, therefore, be clear to all men of vision that the rise of Bangistan signifies a fateful revolution in the affairs of the one-fifth of the whole human race living in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. Not only that. It means a revolution the repercussions of which will be felt far beyond the frontiers of Dinia—in Asia as well as over the rest of the globe. And no wonder. For in Bangistan is born again a nation worthy of its great past, confident of its bright future, and blessed by Allah and His Rasool to serve Islam in the world.

In this knowledge, let the world salute Bangistan, wish it success in its noble struggle, and welcome it into the Comity of Nations, which needs it for the good of Mankind.

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FARUQISTAN

The Fatherland of the Faruq Nation

The Faruqistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First Edition, September, 1946.

To

The Immortal and Inspiring Memory

of

THE MUJAHIDS

who

In heroic devotion to the sacred cause of Islam

Laid down their lives and thereby laid the foundations

Of the mighty heritage of the MILLAT

In the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies—

A heritage which

THE FARUQISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

is pledged

Before ALLAH and HIS RASOOL

To Protect and perpetuate in Faruqistan

As in the other lands and islands of the Continent.

PREFACE

The appearance of a new country in the world is a matter of profound interest to mankind. And to satisfy and sustain that interest is the first duty of the founder of the cause of that country.

To discharge that duty I have prepared this booklet, the aim of which is to introduce Faruqistan to the world and also to explain the reasons for its demand for recognition as a sovereign country in the Continent of Dinia.

I trust the booklet will fulfil that aim, promote true understanding of the justice of the National Cause of the Faruqs, and serve as a final warning to the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance that no solution of the Hindoo-Muslim problem can be, and will be, acceptable to the Faruqs unless it guarantees the sovereign national status of Faruqistan and of all other countries of the Millat in the Orbit of Pakasia.

16, Montague Road,
Cambridge,
ENGLAND.

16th September, 1946.

Choudhary Rahmat Ali

FARUQISTAN

The Fatherland of the Faruq Nation

Faruqistan is the land of the Faruqs—the Muslim nation at present living mixed with the Caste Hindoos in the ancient, historic region of Bihar and Orissa. I mean the Region which lies in the north-east of the Continent of Dinia, and which is also known as the lands of Magda and Odera-Decha—the lands which at one time were the famous centres of Muslim power in the Continent.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS:—To understand and appreciate its true significance, the reader must clearly grasp the following fundamental facts about Faruqistan:—

First, in terms of nationalism, it symbolises, on the one hand, the absolute rejection by Muslims of their present miserable minority position in the Region and, on the other, their irrevocable decision to integrate themselves as a separate sovereign nation in that part of the area of the Region to which by all standards of justice and equity they are entitled according to the proportion of their population.

Secondly, in terms of democracy, it means the practical exercise by Muslims of their elementary right of self-determination. That is, the right to establish which thousands of their own men laid down their lives on the battlefields of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the two World Wars which are claimed to have been fought to secure the existence and integrity of the smaller nations of the world.

Thirdly, in terms of internationalism, it embodies a solemn declaration by Muslims of their wish and will to "live and let live." That this is so is clear from the fact that, if the declaration is accepted by others in the same spirit in which it is made by Muslims, it would lead not only to Muslim national revival and re-organisation in the Region, but also to the crystallisation and consolidation of the whole position of the Caste Hindoos as well as to the formation of a strong Caste Hindoo national state in the remainder of the area of the Region to which they, according to their population, have a just claim.

Lastly, in terms of supreme truths, it is a summons to the Muslims to attend to the saving call of their destiny—a summons which they will certainly answer in the traditional spirit of absolute dedication. They will do this because in the present-day Region, which they have long served and saved from foreign aggression and devastation, they are threatened with nothing less than national extinction by the Caste Hindoos, who constitute an overwhelming majority of the population and who with sheer weight of their numbers are crushing the Muslims out of existence as a nation in the Region.

That, in a word, is the core and content of the national cause of Faruqistan. Obviously its reasonableness is unquestionable and its appeal to the Muslims irresistible. That is why all freedom-loving people support it, and all Muslims are determined to fight and, if need be, to die for the formal and full recognition of Faruqistan by the Caste Hindoos, by the British, and by the world.

II. NAME:—Though here composed of the letters taken from the names of the places of the Region, the word "Faruq" is an Arabic word meaning "Discriminator" and its adoption for the Muslim part of the Region was inspired by the considerations of its historical appeal and eternal inspiration.

First, in the history of Islam, "Faruq" is one of the most beloved and revered names of Hazrat Omar (May the peace of Allah be on his soul). Secondly, in the history of the Region itself, it is a part of the name of King Nasir Khan Faruqi, who himself was named after Hazrat Omar (May the peace of Allah be on his soul) and who was the first Muslim sovereign to establish an independent kingdom in a part of the Region and to raise it to the status of a country.

It will therefore be seen that the sources inspiring the name are spiritual and historical, national and territorial; and also that the name really stands for the age-old associations of Islam with the story of the

Region. That is, the associations which are recorded in history, are appreciated even by the Caste Hindoos, and are crying out for recognition in the creation of Faruqistan. This because only Faruqistan can preserve that heritage which Muslims have won in the Region by their unparalleled sacrifices in the past twelve centuries; and also can fulfil that hope which Muslims have ever cherished for the liberation and salvation of the people of the Region.

It was the consciousness of that history, heritage, and hope which led the present writer to give the name Faruqistan to the Fatherland of the Muslims of the Region, and it is his solemn conviction that the inspiration of this name is preordained to save the Muslims from alien hegemony, to ensure their national integrity, and to perpetuate their religious cause in the Region.

III. **BOUNDARIES**:—From the very nature of things Faruqistan had—at least to begin with—to be an enclave. That is, a country within a country. So it lies right in the heart of the Region and is bounded on all sides by Bihar and Orissa.

In so far as its precise frontiers are concerned, these have not yet been formally demarcated. This is due to the conspiracy of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance against the recognition of Faruqistan as against that of other countries in the Continent of Dinia.

The Faruqs have waited four years to see if the Alliance would change its hostile attitude. But it has not done so, nor seems likely to. So now, despairing of any improvement in the policy of the Alliance and remembering the warning of history against leaving frontiers undefined, they are determined to have them demarcated, if possible with the cooperation of the Alliance, but if necessary without it.

IV. **AREA**:—Corresponding to their proportion in the population of the Region, the Faruqs are entitled to about ten per cent. of the total area of the Region; and this gives them about twelve thousand square miles as the area of Faruqistan.

This area can by no means be called small. Like the population of Faruqistan, it roughly compares with the areas of some of the old, well-established, independent countries of Europe which have stood the test of time, survived two world wars, and played a distinguished part in history. I mean countries such as Denmark, with its area of 16,580 square miles; Switzerland, with 15,950; the Netherlands, with 13,514; Belgium, with 11,750; and Albania, with 11,000.

V. POPULATION:—According to the 1941 census, the Faruqs being over ten per cent. of the total population of the Region, the population of Faruqistan comes to about 5,000,000.

This is a considerable number. Indeed it is several times the population of some of the well-known countries of the world. Thus it is five times the population of Albania, nearly three times that of Syria, nearly twice that of Norway, of Eire, and of Finland; more than that of Switzerland, and almost equal to that of Sudan.

Those who study social problems know that satisfactory as is that number, it does not mean the limit in the case of Faruqs. Indeed it cannot. For even in present circumstances, which are definitely unfavourable to their growth, they are increasing much faster than most of the non-Muslim nations in the Continent of Dinia. And what is more, it is certain that, given the recognition of Faruqistan, they will, within a century, touch the high figure of 10,0000,000.

VI. LANGUAGE:—The national language of Faruqistan is Pak, which has so far been known as Urdu. It is also the national literary language of all other nations of the Millat and the *lingua franca* of the whole Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

The Pak language owes a lot to the creative talents of the Faruqs. For they developed it, enriched its vocabulary, and popularised its use. Not only that. They—their poets and prose writers—improved its spirit, substance, and style, and made it one of the richest and most virile languages in the world.

VII. RESOURCES:—Like Pakistan, Faruqistan is primarily an agricultural country, and at present about seventy-five per cent. of its people are directly or indirectly connected with agriculture and its allied industries. The remaining twenty-five per cent. are mostly occupied in trade and commerce, in professions and administration. It has a good soil, which is irrigated both by canals and by wells, and its chief products are wheat, barley, pulse, tobacco, rice, cotton, sugar, and oilseeds.

The mineral and industrial resources of Faruqistan are considerable, though for the most part these are potential rather than actual. They will be exploited only when the Faruqs have secured their national existence, and are free to plan their economic life, to develop their natural wealth and to make use of their industrial assets.

VIII. COMMUNICATIONS:—The communications of Faruqistan, which under existing conditions form part of those of the Region, may be

described as fairly good. Apart from the metalled roads, which are fit for motor and other vehicular traffic, the country is served by three Railway Systems, at present known as the East Indian, the Bengal-Nagpur, and the Bengal North-Western. These three Railways carry most of its passenger as well as goods traffic, and connect it with other countries of the Continent of Dinia.

IX. FARUQISTAN AND THE PAK COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS:—Faruqistan is one of the ten countries of the Millat which are now rising in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which are resolved to give effect to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. That is, the Commonwealth which has been the age-long dream of the 100,000,000 Muslims in the Continent, and which is destined to translate into reality their Pan-Islamic ideals and to direct their nations to the final achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her mission throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

The Faruqs are as devoted to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations as any other nation of the Millat in Dinia. This is quite natural. The devotion of all springs from the fundamentals of their Faith, is steeled by the teachings of their history, and is sharpened by their understanding of the immediate as well as the ultimate responsibilities of Muslims in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

They are all aware of the fact that only in the capacity of equal members of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations can they achieve their ideals. This is so because here they will be free yet bound to the Millat through the Commonwealth for the service of the Faith and Fraternity in the world. Secondly, they will be sovereign, yet allied to the other nations of the Millat for the security of one another. Finally, they will be independent, yet inspired to establish in their countries that Brotherhood of Man which is the priceless and supreme gift of Islam to humanity.

X. FARUQISTAN AND THE CONTINENT OF DINIA:—It is obvious that owing to its geographical situation and strategic position, Faruqistan will be one of the most important countries of the Continent of Dinia. Not only that. The remarkable record of its people in history and their passionate ambition to add to that record make it certain that their Fatherland will play a distinguished role in the future development of the Continent.

That this is by no means an overdrawn picture is shown by the effect

of the very existence of Faruqistan on the future of all other countries of the Continent.

To begin with, the existence of Faruqistan will be a lasting contribution towards ending the age-old conflict among the nations of Dinia, a conflict which is primarily responsible for their degradation since 1857. Secondly, its work for the betterment of its own people will indirectly help the moral and material well-being of the whole Continent. And, finally, the security of its people against exploitation by the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance will leave them free to devote themselves to the cause of the peace, progress, and prosperity of Mankind.

XI. FARUQISTAN AND THE CULTURAL ORBIT OF PAKASIA:—It is an historical fact that at least a part of the core and content of the cultural heritage of Pakasia is the gift of the Faruqs. Indeed few nations have done more than they have to create that culture, to infuse into it its charm, humanism, and vigour; and to make it the common heritage of all nations of Pakasia.

In view of that, it is certain that the Faruqs, who are as proud of this achievement as of the empires and kingdoms won by their forefathers, will ever be found in the van of the nations working to ensure the supremacy of that culture in the Orbit of Pakasia.

XII. CONCLUSION:—That, in a word, is Faruqistan. Its rise marks an epoch in history. That is, an epoch which will ever be associated with the new dawn of Muslim power, with the twilight of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo hegemony, and with the awakening of all the nations of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It must, therefore, be clear to all men of vision that the rise of Faruqistan signifies a fateful revolution in the affairs of one-fifth of the whole human race living in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. Not only that. It means a revolution the repercussions of which will be felt far beyond the frontiers of Dinia—in Asia as well as over the rest of the globe. And no wonder. For in Faruqistan is born again a nation worthy of its great past, confident of its bright future, and blessed by Allah and His Rasool to serve Islam in the world.

In this knowledge, let the world salute Faruqistan, wish it success in its noble struggle, and welcome it into the Comity of Nations, which needs it for the good of Mankind.

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MAPLISTAN

The Fatherland of the Map Nation

The Maplistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First Edition, September, 1946.

To

The Immortal and Inspiring Memory

of

THE MUJAHIDS

who

In heroic devotion to the sacred cause of Islam

Laid down their lives and thereby laid the foundations

Of the mighty heritage of the MILLAT

In the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies—

A heritage which

THE MAPLISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

is pledged

Before ALLAH and HIS RASOOL

To protect and perpetuate in Maplistan

As in the other lands and islands of the Continent.

PREFACE

The appearance of a new country in the world is a matter of profound interest to mankind. And to satisfy and sustain that interest is the first duty of the founder of the cause of that country.

To discharge that duty I have prepared this booklet, the aim of which is to introduce Maplistan to the world and also to explain the reasons of its demand for recognition as a sovereign country in the Continent of Dinia.

I trust the booklet will fulfil that aim, promote true understanding of the justice of the National Cause of the Maps, and serve as a final warning to the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance that no solution of the Hindoo-Muslim problem can be, and will be, acceptable to the Maps, unless it guarantees the sovereign national status of Maplistan and of all other countries of the Millat in the Orbit of Pakasia.

16, Montague Road,
Cambridge,
ENGLAND.
16th September, 1946.

Choudhary Rahmat Ali

MAPLISTAN

The Fatherland of the Map Nation

Maplistan is the land of the Maps—the Muslim nation at present living mixed with the Caste Hindoos in the ancient, historic region of South Dinia. I mean the Region which includes the Muslim strongholds of Malabar and the Alam Islands—strongholds which were once the famous centres of Muslim power in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which are destined to be raised to the same dignity in the near future.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS:—To understand and appreciate its true significance, the reader must clearly grasp the following fundamental facts about Maplistan:—

First, in terms of nationalism it symbolises, on the one hand, the absolute rejection by Muslims of their present miserable minority position in the Region and, on the other, their irrevocable decision to integrate themselves as a separate sovereign nation in that part of the area of the Region to which by all standards of justice and equity they are entitled according to their numbers in the population.

Secondly, in terms of democracy, it means the practical exercise by Muslims of their elementary right of self-determination. That is, the right to establish which thousands of their own men laid down their lives on the battlefields of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the two World Wars, which are claimed to have been fought to secure the existence

and integrity of the smaller nations of the world.

Thirdly, in terms of internationalism, it embodies a solemn declaration by Muslims of their wish and will to "live and let live." That this is so is clear from the fact that, if the declaration is accepted by others in the spirit in which it is made by Muslims, it would lead not only to Muslim national revival and re-organisation in the Region, but also to the crystallization and consolidation of the whole position of the Caste Hindoos as well as to the foundation of a strong Caste Hindoo national state in the rest of the area of the Region to which they have a just claim.

Lastly, in terms of supreme truths, it is a summons to the Muslims to attend to the saving call of their destiny—a summons which they will certainly answer in the traditional spirit of absolute dedication. They will do this because in the Region, which they have long served and saved from foreign aggression and devastation, they are threatened with nothing less than national extinction by the Caste Hindoos, who constitute an overwhelming majority of the population and who by the sheer weight of their numbers are crushing the Muslims out of existence as a nation in the Region.

That, in a word, is the core and content of the national cause of Maplistan. Obviously its reasonableness is unquestionable and its appeal to the Muslims irresistible. That is why all freedom-loving people support it, and all Muslims are determined to fight and, if necessary, to die for the formal and full recognition of Maplistan by the Caste Hindoos, by the British, and by the world.

II. NAME:—Although here composed of the letters taken from the names of places in the Region, the world "Map" is also the abbreviated form of Mappila, an Arabic word meaning "Good and Great"; and its adoption for the Muslim parts of the Region was mainly inspired by the fact the Mappilas have played a proud and distinguished role in the history of Islam in South Dinia.

It will therefore be seen that the sources inspiring the name are spiritual and historical, national and territorial; and that the name really stands for the age-old associations of Islam with the story of the Region. That is, the associations which are recorded in history, which are appreciated even by the Caste Hindoos, and which are crying out for recognition in the creation of Maplistan. This because only Maplistan can preserve that heritage which Muslims have won in the Region by their unparalleled sacrifices in the past twelve centuries; and also can fulfil that hope which

they have ever cherished for the liberation and salvation of the people of the Region.

It was this consciousness of the history, heritage, and hope of Muslims which led the present writer to give the name Maplistan to the Fatherland of the Muslims of the Region, and it is his solemn conviction that the inspiration of this name is preordained to save the Muslims from alien hegemony, to ensure their national integrity, and to perpetuate their religious cause in the Region.

III. BOUNDARIES:—Maplistan lies in the south-west of Dinia, and it is bounded on the north, east, and south by the Madras Presidency and on the west by the Maplian Sea.

In so far as its land frontiers are concerned, these have not yet been formally demarcated. This is due to the conspiracy of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance against the recognition of Maplistan as against that of other countries of the Continent of Dinia.

The Maps have waited for years to see if the Alliance would change its hostile attitude. But it has not done so, nor seems likely to. So now, despairing of any improvement in the policy of the Alliance and remembering the warning of history against leaving frontiers undefined, they are determined to have them demarcated, if possible with the co-operation of the Alliance, but if necessary without it.

IV. AREA:—In proportion to their numbers in the population of the Region, the Maps are entitled to about eight per cent. of the total area of the Region; and this gives them about 10,000 square miles as the area of Maplistan.

This area can by no means be called small. Like the population of Maplistan, it compares roughly with the areas of some of the old, well-established countries which have stood the test of time, survived two world wars, and played a distinguished part in history. I mean countries such as Palestine with its area of 10,400 square miles; Albania with 11,000; and Belgium with 11,750.

V. POPULATION:—According to the 1941 census, the Maps being about eight per cent. of the total population of the Region, the population of Maplistan comes to about 4,000,000.

This is a considerable number. Indeed it compares favourably with the population of some of the well-known countries of the world. Thus it is four times the population of Albania and of Libya, and two and a half times that of Syria.

Those who study social problems know that, satisfactory as is that number, it does not mean the limit in the case of the Maps. Indeed it cannot. For even in present circumstances, which are definitely unfavourable to their growth, they are increasing much faster than most of the non-Muslim nations in the Continent of Dinia. And, what is more, it is certain that, given the recognition of Maplistan they will, within a century, touch the high figure of 10,000,000.

VI. LANGUAGE:—Although the vernacular spoken by a great majority of the Maps is Malyalam, the national language of Maplistan is Pak, which so far has been known as Urdu. It is also the national literary language of all other nations of the Millat and the *lingua franca* of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

The Pak language owes a lot to the creative talents of the Maps. For they developed it, enriched its vocabulary, and popularised its use. Not only that. They—their poets and prose writers—improved its spirit, substance, and style, and made it one of the richest and most virile languages in the world.

VII. RESOURCES:—Like Pakistan, Maplistan is primarily an agricultural country, and at present about seventy-five per cent. of its people are directly or indirectly connected with agriculture and allied industries. The remaining twenty five per cent. are mostly occupied in trade and commerce, in professions and administration. It has a good soil and its chief products are rice, coco-nuts, fruits, pepper, and coffee.

The mineral and industrial resources of Maplistan are considerable, though for the most part these are potential rather than actual. They will be exploited only when the Maps have secured their national existence, and are free to plan their economic life, to develop their natural wealth, and to make use of their industrial assets.

VIII. COMMUNICATIONS:—The communications of Maplistan, which under existing conditions form part of those of the Region, may be described as fairly good. Apart from the metalled roads, which are fit for motor and other vehicular traffic, the country is served by two Railway Systems, at present known as the South Indian Railway and the Madras and Southern Maratha Railway. These two Railways carry most of its passengers as well as goods traffic, and connect it with other countries of the Continent of Dinia.

The principal seaports of Maplistan are Calicut, Tellicherry, Cannanore and Cochin.

IX. MAPLISTAN AND THE PAK COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS:—Maplistan is one of the ten countries of the Millat which are now rising in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which are resolved to give effect to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. That is, the Commonwealth which has been the age-long dream of the 100,000,000 Muslims in the Continent, and which is destined to translate into reality their Pan-Islamic ideals and to direct their nations to the final achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her mission throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

The Maps are as devoted to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations as any other nation of the Millat in Dinia. This is natural. The devotion of all springs from the fundamentals of their Faith, is steeled by the teachings of their history, and is sharpened by their understanding of the immediate as well as the ultimate responsibilities of Muslims in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

They are all aware of the fact that only in the capacity of equal members of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations can they achieve their ideals. This is so because here, although bound to the Millat through the Commonwealth for the service of the Faith and Fraternity in the world, they will be free. Secondly, although allied to the other nations of the Millat for the security of one another, they will be sovereign. Finally, although expected to establish in their countries that Brotherhood of Man which is the priceless and supreme gift of Islam to humanity, they will be independent.

X. MAPLISTAN AND THE CONTINENT OF DINIA:—It is obvious that owing to its geographical situation and strategic position, Maplistan will be one of the most important countries of the Continent of Dinia. Not only that. The remarkable record of its people in history and their passionate ambition to add to that record make it certain that their Fatherland will play a distinguished role in the future development of the Continent.

That this is by no means an overdrawn picture is shown by the effect of the very existence of Maplistan on the future of all other countries of the Continent.

To begin with, the existence of Maplistan will be a lasting contribution towards ending the age-old conflict among the nations of Dinia, a conflict which is primarily responsible for their degradation since 1857. Secondly, its work for the betterment of its own people will indirectly help the moral and material well-being of the whole Continent. And,

finally, the security of its people against exploitation by the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance will leave them free to devote themselves to the cause of the peace, progress, and prosperity of Mankind.

XI. MAPLISTAN AND THE CULTURAL ORBIT OF PAKASIA:—It is an historical fact that at least a part of the core and content of the cultural heritage of Pakasia is the gift of the Maps. Indeed few nations have done more than they have to create that culture, to infuse into it its charm, humanism, and vigour; and to make it the common heritage of all nations of Pakasia.

In view of that, it is certain that the Maps, who are as proud of this achievement as of the empires and kingdoms won by their forefathers, will ever be found in the van of the nations working to ensure the supremacy of that culture in the Orbit of Pakasia.

XII. CONCLUSION:—That, in a word, is Maplistan whose rise marks an epoch in history. That is, an epoch which will ever be associated with the new dawn of Muslim power, with the twilight of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo hegemony, and with the awakening of all the nations of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It must, therefore, be clear to all men of vision that the rise of Maplistan signifies a fateful revolution in the affairs of the one-fifth of the whole human race living in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. Not only that. It means a revolution the repercussions of which will be felt far beyond the frontiers of Dinia—in Asia as well as over the rest of the globe. And no wonder. For in Maplistan is born again a nation worthy of its great past, confident of its bright future, and blessed by Allah and His Rasool to serve Islam in the world.

In this knowledge, let the world salute Maplistan, wish it success in its noble struggle, and welcome it into the Comity of Nations, which needs it for the good of Mankind.

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MUINISTAN

The Fatherland of the Muin Nation

The Muinistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First Edition, September, 1946.

To

The Immortal and Inspiring Memory

of

THE MUJAHIDS

who

In heroic devotion to the sacred cause of Islam

Laid down their lives and thereby laid the foundations

Of the mighty heritage of the MILLAT

In the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies—

A heritage which

THE MUINISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

is pledged

Before ALLAH and HIS RASOOL

To protect and perpetuate in Muinistan

As in the other lands and islands of the Continent.

PREFACE

The appearance of a new country in the world is a matter of profound interest to mankind. And to satisfy and sustain that interest is the first duty of the founder of the cause of that country.

To discharge that duty I have prepared this booklet, the aim of which is to introduce Muinistan to the world and also to explain the reasons of its demand for recognition as a sovereign country in the Continent of Dinia.

I trust the booklet will fulfil that aim, promote true understanding of the justice of the National Cause of the Muins, and serve as a final warning to the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance that no solution of the Hindoo-Muslim problem can be, and will be, acceptable to the Muins, unless it guarantees the sovereign national status of Muinistan and of all other countries of the Millat in the Orbit of Pakasia.

16, Montague Road,
Cambridge,
ENGLAND.
16th September, 1946.

Choudhary Rahmat Ali

MUINISTAN

The Fatherland of the Muin Nation

Muinistan is the land of the Muins—the Muslim nation at present living mixed with the Caste Hindoos in the ancient, historic region of Rajistan. I mean the Region which is dominated by the Aravallis, and which comprises the lands of the Rajpoots, Gujars, and Jats—the lands which were the famous Dependencies of the Muslim Empire in the Continent and which include the Muslim State of Tonk.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS:—To understand and appreciate its true significance, the reader must clearly grasp the following fundamental facts about Muinistan:—

First, in terms of nationalism, it symbolises, on the one hand, the absolute rejection by Muslims of their present miserable minority position in the Region and, on the other, their irrevocable decision to integrate themselves as a separate sovereign nation in that part of the area of the Region to which by all standards of justice and equity they are entitled according to their numbers in the population.

Secondly, in terms of democracy, it means the practical exercise by Muslims of their elementary right of self-determination. That is, the right to establish which thousands of their own men laid down their lives on the battlefields of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the two World Wars, which are claimed to have been fought to secure the existence and integrity of the smaller nations of the world.

Thirdly, in terms of internationalism, it embodies a solemn declaration by Muslims of their wish and will to "live and let live." That this is so is clear from the fact that, if the declaration is accepted by others in the spirit in which it is made by Muslims, it would lead not only to Muslim national revival and re-organisation in the Region, but also to the crystallization and consolidation of the whole position of the Caste Hindoos as well as to the foundation of a strong Caste Hindoo national state in the rest of the area of the Region to which they have a just claim.

Lastly, in terms of supreme truths, it is a summons to the Muslims to attend to the saving call of their destiny—a summons which they will certainly answer in the traditional spirit of absolute dedication. They will do this because in the Region, which they have long served and saved from foreign aggression and devastation, they are threatened with nothing less than national extinction by the Caste Hindoos, who constitute an overwhelming majority of the population and who by the sheer weight of their numbers are crushing the Muslims out of existence as a nation in the Region.

That, in a word, is the core and content of the national cause of Muinistan. Obviously its reasonableness is unquestionable and its appeal to the Muslims irresistible. That is why all freedom-loving people support it, and all Muslims are determined to fight and, if necessary, to die for the formal and full recognition of Muinistan by the Caste Hindoos, by the British, and by the world.

II. NAME:—Although here composed of the letters taken from the names of places in the Region, the world "Muin" is an Arabic word, meaning "The Helper"; and its adoption for the Muslim part of the Region was inspired by considerations of its historical appeal and eternal inspiration. For, in the history of Islam, "Muin" is the respected and revered name of Hazrat Khawaja Muin-ul-Din of Ajmer (May the peace of Allah be on his soul).

It will therefore be seen that the sources inspiring the name are spiritual and historical, national and territorial; and that the name really stands for the age-old associations of Islam with the story of the Region. That is, the associations which are recorded in history, which are appreciated even by the Caste Hindoos, and which are crying out for recognition in the creation of Muinistan. This because only Muinistan can preserve that heritage which Muslims have won in the Region by their unparalleled sacrifices in the past twelve centuries; and also can fulfil that

hope which they have ever cherished for the liberation and salvation of the people of the Region.

It was this consciousness of the history, heritage, and hope of Muslims which led the present writer to give the name Muinistan to the Fatherland of the Muslims of the Region, and it is his solemn conviction that the inspiration of this name is preordained to save the Muslims from alien hegemony, to ensure their national integrity, and to perpetuate their religious cause in the Region.

III. BOUNDARIES:—From the very nature of things Muinistan had—at least to begin with—to be an enclave. That is, a country within a country. So it lies right in the heart of the Region and is bounded on all sides by the Rajpoot states.

In so far as its precise frontiers are concerned, these have not yet been formally demarcated. This is due to the conspiracy of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance against the recognition of Muinistan as against that of other countries of the Continent of Dinia.

The Muins have waited for years to see if the Alliance would change its hostile attitude. But it has not done so, nor seems likely to. So now, despairing of any improvement in the policy of the Alliance and remembering the warning of history against leaving frontiers undefined, they are determined to have them demarcated, if possible with the co-operation of the Alliance, but if necessary without it.

IV. AREA:—In proportion to their numbers in the population of the Region, the Muins are entitled to about ten per cent. of the total area of the Region; and this gives them about fourteen thousand square miles as the area of Muinistan.

This area can by no means be called small. Like the population of Muinistan, it compares favourably with the areas of some of the old, well-established countries which have stood the test of time, survived two world wars, and played a distinguished part in history. I mean countries such as Palestine with its area of 10,400 square miles; Albania with 11,000; and Belgium with 11,750.

V. POPULATION:—According to the 1941 census, the Muins being about ten per cent. of the total population of the Region, the population of Muinistan comes to about 1,500,000.

This is a considerable number. Indeed it compares favourably with the population of some of the well-known countries of the world.

Thus it is one and a half times the population of Albania and of Libya, and equal to that of the Hajaz and of Palestine.

Those who study social problems know that, satisfactory as is that number, it does not mean the limit in the case of the Muins. Indeed it cannot. For even in present circumstances, which are definitely unfavourable to their growth, they are increasing much faster than most of the non-Muslim nations in the Continent of Dinia. And, what is more, it is certain that, given the recognition of Muinistan they will, within a century, touch the high figure of 5,000,000.

VI. LANGUAGE:—Although the vernacular spoken by a great majority of the Muins is Rajistani, the national language of Muinistan is Pak, which so far has been known as Urdu. It is also the national literary language of all other nations of the Millat and the *lingua franca* of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

The Pak language owes a lot to the creative talents of the Muins. For they developed it, enriched its vocabulary, and popularised its use. Not only that. They—their poets and prose writers—improved its spirit, substance, and style, and made it one of the richest and most virile languages in the world.

VII. RESOURCES:—Like Pakistan, Muinistan is primarily an agricultural country, and at present about seventy-five per cent. of its people are directly or indirectly connected with agriculture and allied industries. The remaining twenty-five per cent. are mostly occupied in trade and commerce, in professions and administration. It has a fairly good soil, and its chief products are wheat, barley, pulses, tobacco, and oilseeds.

The mineral and industrial resources of Muinistan are considerable, though for the most part these are potential rather than actual. They will be exploited only when the Muins have secured their national existence, and are free to plan their economic life, to develop their natural wealth, and to make use of their industrial assets.

VIII. COMMUNICATIONS:—The communications of Muinistan which under existing conditions form part of those of the Region may be described as fairly good. Apart from the metalled roads, which are fit for motor and other vehicular traffic, the country is served by four Railway Systems, at present known as the Bikaner Railway, the Jodhpur Railway, the Bombay, Broda, and Central India Railway, and the Jaipur Railway. These four Railways carry most of its passengers as well as goods traffic, and connect it with other countries of the Continent of Dinia.

IX. MUINISTAN AND THE PAK COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS:—Muinistan is one of the ten countries of the Millat which are now rising in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which are resolved to give effect to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. That is, the Commonwealth which has been the age-long dream of the 100,000,000 Muslims in the Continent, and which is destined to translate into reality their Pan-Islamic ideals and to direct their nations to the final achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her mission throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

The Muins are as devoted to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations as any other nation of the Millat in Dinia. This is natural. The devotion of all springs from the fundamentals of their Faith, is steeled by the teachings of their history, and is sharpened by their understanding of the immediate as well as the ultimate responsibilities of Muslims in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

They are all aware of the fact that only in the capacity of equal members of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations can they achieve their ideals. This is so because here, although bound to the Millat through the Commonwealth for the service of the Faith and Fraternity in the world, they will be free. Secondly, although allied to the other nations of the Millat for the security of one another, they will be sovereign. Finally, although expected to establish in their countries that Brotherhood of Man which is the priceless and supreme gift of Islam to humanity, they will be independent.

X. MUINISTAN AND THE CONTINENT OF DINIA:—It is obvious that owing to its geographical situation and strategic position, Muinistan will be one of the most important countries of the Continent of Dinia. Not only that. The remarkable record of its people in history and their passionate ambition to add to that record make it certain that their Fatherland will play a distinguished role in the future development of the Continent.

That this is by no means an overdrawn picture is shown by the effect of the very existence of Muinistan on the future of all other countries of the Continent.

To begin with, the existence of Muinistan will be a lasting contribution towards ending the age-old conflict among the nations of Dinia, a conflict which is primarily responsible for their degradation since 1857. Secondly, its work for the betterment of its own people will indirectly help the moral and material well-being of the whole Continent. And,

finally, the security of its people against exploitation by the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance will leave them free to devote themselves to the cause of the peace, progress, and prosperity of Mankind.

XI. MUINISTAN AND THE CULTURAL ORBIT OF PAKASIA:—It is an historical fact that at least a part of the core and content of the cultural heritage of Pakasia is the gift of the Muins. Indeed few nations have done more than they have to create that culture, to infuse into it its charm, humanism, and vigour; and to make it the common heritage of all nations of Pakasia.

In view of that, it is certain that the Muins, who are as proud of this achievement as of the empire and kingdoms won by their forefathers, will ever be found in the van of the nations working to ensure the supremacy of that culture in the Orbit of Pakasia.

XII. CONCLUSION:—That, in a word, is Muinistan whose rise marks an epoch in history. That is, an epoch which will ever be associated with the new dawn of Muslim power, with the twilight of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo hegemony, and with the awakening of all the nations of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It must, therefore, be clear to all men of vision that the rise of Muinistan signifies a fateful revolution in the affairs of the one-fifth of the whole human race living in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. Not only that. It means a revolution the repercussions of which will be felt far beyond the frontiers of Dinia—in Asia as well as over the rest of the globe. And no wonder. For in Muinistan is born again a nation worthy of its great past, confident of its bright future, and blessed by Allah and His Rasool to serve Islam in the world.

In this knowledge, let the world salute Muinistan, wish it success in its noble struggle, and welcome it into the Comity of Nations, which needs it for the good of Mankind.

22

NASARISTAN

The Fatherland of the Nasar Nation

The Nasaristan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First Edition: September 1946.

To

The Immortal and Inspiring Memory

of

THE MUJAHIDS

who

In heroic devotion to the sacred cause of Islam

Laid down their lives and thereby laid the foundations

Of the mighty heritage of the MILLAT

In the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies—

A heritage which

THE NASARISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

is pledged

Before ALLAH and HIS RASOOL

To protect and perpetuate in Nasaristan

As in the other lands and islands of the Continent.

PREFACE

The appearance of a new country in the world is a matter of profound interest to mankind. And to satisfy and sustain that interest is the first duty of the founder of the cause of that country.

To discharge that duty I have prepared this booklet, the aim of which is to introduce Nasaristan to the world and also to explain the reasons for its demand for recognition as a sovereign country in the Ceylon.

I trust the booklet will fulfil that aim, promote true understanding of the justice of the National Cause of the Nasars, and serve as a final warning to the British-Buddh Alliance that no solution of the Buddh-Muslim problem can be and will be acceptable to the Nasars, unless it guarantees the sovereign national status of Nasaristan and of all other countries of the Millat in the Orbit of Pakasia.

16, Montague Road,
Cambridge,
ENGLAND.
16th September, 1946.

CHOUDHARY RAHMAT ALI

NASARISTAN

The Fatherland of the Nasar Nation

Nasaristan is the land of the Nasars— the Muslim nation at present living mixed with the Buddhs in the east of the historic Island of Ceylon. That is, the Island which contains the famous centres of Islam; which has throughout the ages been dear to the world of Islam; and which is destined to remain so for all time to come.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS:—To understand and appreciate its true significance, the reader must clearly grasp the following fundamental facts about Nasaristan:—

First, in terms of nationalism, it symbolises not only the absolute rejection by Muslims of their present position in Ceylon; but also their irrevocable decision to integrate themselves as a separate sovereign nation in that part of Eastern Ceylon to which by all standards of justice and equity they are entitled according to their numbers in the population of Eastern Ceylon.

Secondly, in terms of democracy, it means the practical exercise by Muslims of their elementary right of self-determination. That is, the right to establish which thousands of their own men laid down their lives on the battlefields of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the two World Wars, which are claimed to have been fought to secure the existence and integrity of all nations in the world.

Thirdly, in terms of internationalism, it embodies a solemn declaration by Muslims of their wish and will to "live and let live." That this is so is clear from the fact that, if this declaration is accepted by others in the spirit in which it is made by Muslims, it would lead not only to Muslim national revival and re-organization in Eastern Ceylon, but also to the crystallization and consolidation of the whole position of the Buddhs as well as to the foundation of a strong Buddh national state in the rest of the area of Ceylon to which they have a just claim.

Lastly, in terms of supreme truths, it is a summons to the Muslims to attend to the saving call of their destiny—a summons which they will certainly answer in the traditional spirit of absolute dedication. They will do this because they know that in Eastern Ceylon, which they have long served with single-minded devotion, they are threatened with nothing less than national extinction by the forces of Buddhism.

That, in a word, is the core and content of the national cause of Nasaristan. Obviously the reasonableness of its cause is unquestionable and its appeal to the Muslims irresistible. That is why all freedom-loving people support it, and all Muslims are determined to fight and, if necessary, to die for the formal and full recognition of Nasaristan by the Buddhs, by the British, and by the world.

II. NAME:—Although here composed of the letters taken from the names of places in Eastern Ceylon, and although forming an anagram of Saran—the old Sanskrit name of Ceylon—*Nasar* is an Arabic word meaning "The Helper." Its adoption for the Muslim part of Eastern Ceylon was inspired by considerations of the memorable role of Muslims in the history of Ceylon. That is, the role which has throughout the ages been one of selfless service in every domain of life.

It will therefore be seen that the sources inspiring the name are spiritual and historical, national and territorial; and that the name really stands for the historical associations of Islam with the story of Ceylon. That is, the associations which are recorded in history, which are appreciated even by the Buddhs, and which are crying out for recognition in the creation of Nasaristan. This because only Nasaristan can protect and preserve that heritage which Muslims have won in Eastern Ceylon by their unparalleled sacrifices in the past twelve centuries; and also can fulfil that hope which they have ever cherished for the liberation and salvation of the people of Ceylon.

It was this consciousness of the history, heritage, and hope of Muslims which led the present writer to give the name Nasaristan to the Fatherland of the Muslims of Eastern Ceylon; and it is his solemn conviction that the inspiration of this name is pre-ordained to save them from alien hegemony, to ensure their national integrity, and to perpetuate their religious cause in Ceylon.

III. BOUNDARIES:—Nasaristan lies in the east of Ceylon; and it is bounded on the north by the Palk Strait, on the south and west by Ceylon proper, and on the east by the Nasarian Sea.

In so far as its precise land-frontiers are concerned, these have not yet been formally demarcated. This is due to the conspiracy of the British-Buddh Alliance against the recognition of Nasaristan as against that of Safiistan.

The Nasars have waited for years to see if the Alliance would change its hostile attitude. But it has not done so, nor seems likely to. So now, despairing of any improvement in the policy of the Alliance and remembering the warning of history against leaving frontiers undefined, they are determined to have them demarcated, if possible with the co-operation of the Alliance, but if necessary without it.

IV. AREA:—The total area of Nasaristan is about 2,000 square miles.

This area compares favourably with the areas of some of the old, well-established states which have stood the test of time, survived two world wars, and played their part in history. I mean states such as Luxembourg with its area of 1,000 square miles; and Kuweit with 2,000.

V. POPULATION:—According to the 1941 census, the population of Nasaristan is about 300,000.

This compares with the population of some of the well-known countries and islands of the world. Thus it is equal to the population of Transjordan and of Newfoundland; and more than that of Bhutan.

Those who study social problems know that this number does not mean the limit in the case of the Nasars. Indeed it cannot. For even in present circumstances, which are definitely unfavourable to their growth, they are increasing much faster than the non-Muslim nationalities in Ceylon. It is therefore certain that, given the recognition of Nasaristan, they will within a century touch the figure of 1,000,000.

VI. LANGUAGE:—Although the vernacular spoken by a great majority of the Nasars is Tamil, the national language of Nasaristan is Pak, which so far has been known as Urdu. It is also the national literary language of all other nations of the Millat and the *lingua franca* of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

VII. RESOURCES:—Nasaristan is primarily an agricultural country, and at present about sixty per cent. of its people are directly or indirectly connected with agriculture and other allied industries. The remaining forty per cent. are mostly occupied in trade and commerce, in professions and administration. It has a good soil, and its chief products are tea, cocoa, coconuts, plumbago, rubber, copra, coir, cardamoms, and cinnamon.

The mineral and industrial resources of Nasaristan are considerable, though for the most part these are potential rather than actual. They will be exploited only when the Nasars have secured their national existence, and are free to plan their economic life, to develop their natural wealth, and to make use of their industrial assets.

VIII. COMMUNICATIONS:—The communications of Nasaristan, which under existing conditions form part of those of Ceylon proper, may be described as fairly good. Apart from the metalled roads, which are fit for motor and other vehicular traffic, the country is served by the railway system of Ceylon proper.

The principal seaport of Nasaristan is Trincomalee.

IX. NASARISTAN AND THE PAK COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS:—Nasaristan is one of the ten countries of the Millat which are now rising in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which are resolved to give effect to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. That is, the Commonwealth which has been the age-long dream of 100,000,000 Muslims, and which is destined to translate into reality their Pan-Islamic ideals and to direct their nations to the final achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her mission throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

The Nasars are as devoted to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations as any other nation of the Millat in Dinia. This is natural. The devotion of all springs from the fundamentals of their Faith, is steeled by the teachings of their history, and is sharpened by their understanding of the immediate as well as the ultimate responsibilities of Muslims in the

Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

They are all aware of the fact that only in the capacity of equal members of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations can they achieve their ideals. This is so because here, although bound to the Millat through the Commonwealth for the service of the Faith and Fraternity in the world, they will be free. Secondly, although allied to the other nations of the Millat for the security of one another, they will be sovereign. Finally, although expected to establish in their countries that Brotherhood of Man which is the priceless and supreme gift of Islam to humanity, they will be independent.

X. NASARISTAN AND THE CONTINENT OF DINIA:—It is obvious that owing to its geographical situation and strategic position Nasaristan will be one of the most important countries of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. Not only that. The remarkable record of its people in history and their passionate ambition to add to that record make it certain that their Fatherland will play a distinguished role in the future development of Pakasia.

That this is by no means an overdrawn picture is shown by the effect of the very existence of Nasaristan on the future of all other countries of Pakasia.

To begin with, the existence of Nasaristan will be a lasting contribution towards ending the age-old conflict among the communities of Ceylon, a conflict which is primarily responsible for their subjection. Secondly, its work for the betterment of its own people will indirectly help the moral and material well-being of the whole of Ceylon. And, finally, the security of its people against exploitation by the British-Buddh Alliance will leave them free to devote themselves to the cause of the peace, progress and prosperity of Mankind.

XI. NASARISTAN AND THE CULTURAL ORBIT OF PAKASIA:—It is an historical fact that at least a part of the core and content of the cultural heritage of Pakasia is the gift of the Nasars. Indeed few nations have done more than they have to create that culture, to infuse into it its charm, humanism, and vigour; and to make it the common heritage of all nations of Pakasia.

In view of that, it is certain that the Nasars, who are as proud of this achievement as of the empires and kingdoms won by their forefathers, will ever be found in the van of the nations working to ensure the supremacy of that culture in the Orbit of Pakasia.

XII. CONCLUSION:—That, in a word, is Nasaristan whose rise marks an epoch in history. That is, an epoch which will ever be associated with the new dawn of Muslim power, with the twilight of the British-Buddh hegemony, and with the awakening of all the nations of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It must, therefore, be clear to all men of vision that the rise of Nasaristan signifies a fateful revolution in the affairs of the one-fifth of the whole human race living in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. Not only that. It means a revolution the repercussions of which will be felt far beyond the frontiers of Dinia—in Asia as well as over the rest of the globe. And no wonder. For in Nasaristan is born again a nation worthy of its great past, confident of its bright future, and blessed by Allah and His Rasool to serve Islam in the world.

In this knowledge, let the world salute Nasaristan, wish it success in its noble struggle, and welcome it into the Comity of Nations, which needs it for the good of Mankind.

OSMANISTAN

The Fatherland of the Osman Nation

The Osmanistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

First Edition, September, 1946.

To

The Immortal and Inspiring Memory

of

THE MUJAHIDS

who

In heroic devotion to the sacred cause of Islam

Laid down their lives and thereby laid the foundations

Of the mighty heritage of the MILLAT

In the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies—

A heritage which

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Before ALLAH and HIS RASOOL

To protect and perpetuate in Osmanistan

As in the other lands and islands of the Continent.

PREFACE

The appearance of a new country in the world is a matter of profound interest to mankind. And to satisfy and sustain that interest is the first duty of the founder of the cause of that country.

To discharge that duty I have prepared this booklet, the aim of which is to introduce Osmanistan to the world and also to explain the reasons for its demand for recognition as a sovereign country in the Continent of Dinia.

I trust the booklet will fulfil that aim, promote true understanding of the justice of the National Cause of the Osmans, and serve as a final warning to the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance that no solution of the Hindoo-Muslim problem can be, and will be, acceptable to the Osmans unless it guarantees the sovereign national status of Osmanistan and of all other countries of the Millat in the Orbit of Pakasia.

16, Montague Road,
Cambridge,
England.
16th September, 1946.

Choudhary Rahmat Ali

OSMANISTAN

The Fatherland of the Osman Nation

Osmanistan is the land of the Osmans—the Muslim nation at present living mixed with the Caste Hindoos in the ancient, historic region of the Deccan. I mean the Region which lies in the south of the Continent of Dinia, and which is also known as the lands of Golkonda and Berar—the lands which have been the famous centres of Muslim power in the Continent.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS:—To understand and appreciate its true significance, the reader must clearly grasp the following fundamental facts about Osmanistan:—

First, in terms of nationalism, it symbolises, on the one hand, the absolute rejection by Muslims of their present miserable minority position in the Region and, on the other, their irrevocable decision to integrate themselves as a separate sovereign nation in that part of the area of the Region to which by all standards of justice and equity they are entitled according to the proportion of their population.

Secondly, in terms of democracy, it means the practical exercise by Muslims of their elementary right of self-determination. That is, the right to establish which thousands of their own men laid down their lives on the battlefields of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the two World Wars which are claimed to have been fought to secure the existence and integrity of the smaller nations of the world.

Thirdly, in terms of internationalism, it embodies a solemn declaration by Muslims of their wish and will to "live and let live." That this is so is clear from the fact that, if the declaration is accepted by others in the same spirit in which it is made by Muslims, it would lead not only to Muslim national revival and re-organisation in the Region, but also to the crystallisation and consolidation of the whole position of the Caste Hindoos as well as to the formation of a strong Caste Hindoo national state in the remainder of the area of the Region to which they, according to their population, have a just claim.

Lastly, in terms of supreme truths, it is a summons to the Muslims to attend to the saving call of their destiny—a summons which they will certainly answer in the traditional spirit of absolute dedication. They will do this because in the present-day Region, which they have long served and saved from foreign aggression and devastation, they are threatened with nothing less than national extinction by the Caste Hindoos, who constitute an overwhelming majority of the population and who with sheer weight of their numbers are crushing the Muslims out of existence as a nation in the Region.

That, in a word, is the core and content of the national cause of Osmanistan. Obviously its reasonableness is unquestionable and its appeal to the Muslims irresistible. That is why all freedom-loving people support it, and all Muslims are determined to fight and, if need be, to die for the formal and full recognition of Osmanistan by the Caste Hindoos, by the British, and by the world.

II. NAME:—Though here composed of the letters taken from the names of the places of the Region, the word "Osman" is an Arabic word meaning "The Great" and its adoption for the Muslim part of the Region was inspired by the considerations of its historical appeal and eternal inspiration.

First, in the history of Islam, "Osman" is one of the most beloved and revered names of Hazrat Osman (May the peace of Allah be on his soul). Secondly, in the history of the Region itself, it is a part of the name of Sultan Mir Osman Ali Khan, who himself is named after Hazrat Osman (May the peace of Allah be on his soul) and who is one of the Muslim sovereigns whose vision and work have consolidated dominions in the Region and raised them to the status of countries.

It will therefore be seen that the sources inspiring the name are spiritual and historical, national and territorial; and also that the name

really stands for the age-old associations of Islam with the story of the Region. That is, the associations which are recorded in history, are appreciated even by the Caste Hindoos, and are crying out for recognition in the creation of Osmanistan. This because only Osmanistan can preserve that heritage which Muslims have won in the Region by their unparalleled sacrifices in the past twelve centuries; and also can fulfil that hope which Muslims have ever cherished for the liberation and salvation of the people of the Region.

It was the consciousness of that history, heritage, and hope which led the present writer to give the name Osmanistan to the Fatherland of the Muslims of the Region, and it is his solemn conviction that the inspiration of this name is preordained to save the Muslims from alien hegemony, to ensure their national integrity, and to perpetuate their religious cause in the Region.

III. **BOUNDARIES**:—From the very nature of things Osmanistan had—at least to begin with—to be an enclave. That is, a country within a country. So it lies right in the heart of the Region and is bounded on all sides by the Deccan.

In so far as its precise frontiers are concerned, these have not yet been formally demarcated. This is due to the conspiracy of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance against the recognition of Osmanistan as against that of other countries in the Continent of Dinia.

The Osmans have waited four years to see if the Alliance would change its hostile attitude. But it has not done so, nor seems likely to. So now, despairing of any improvement in the policy of the Alliance and remembering the warning of history against leaving frontiers undefined, they are determined to have them demarcated, if possible with the co-operation of the Alliance, but if necessary without it.

IV. **AREA**:—Corresponding to their proportion in the population of the Region, the Osmans are entitled to about seventeen per cent. of the total area of the Region; and this gives them about seventeen thousand square miles as the area of Osmanistan.

This area can by no means be called small. Like the population of Osmanistan, it roughly compares with the areas of some of the old, well-established, independent countries of Europe which have stood the test of time, survived two world wars, and played a distinguished part in history. I mean countries such as Denmark, with its area of 16,580 square miles; Switzerland, with 15,950; the Netherlands, with 13,514; Belgium, with

11,750; and Albania, with 11,000.

V. POPULATION:—According to the 1941 census, the Osmans being over seventeen per cent. of the total population of the Region, the population of Osmanistan comes to about 3,000,000.

This is a considerable number. Indeed it compares with the population of some of the well-known countries of the world. Thus it is three times the population of Albania, nearly twice that of Syria, equal to that of Norway, of Eire, and of Finland; almost equal to that of Switzerland and of Denmark.

Those who study social problems know that satisfactory as is that number, it does not mean the limit in the case of Osmans. Indeed it cannot. For even in present circumstances, which are definitely unfavourable to their growth, they are increasing much faster than most of the non-Muslim nations in the Continent of Dinia. And what is more, it is certain that, given the recognition of Osmanistan, they will, within a century, touch the high figure of 10,000,000.

VI. LANGUAGE:—The national language of Osmanistan is Pak, which has so far been known as Urdu. It is also the national literary language of all other nations of the Millat and the *lingua franca* of the whole Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

The Pak language owes a lot to the creative talents of the Osmans. For they developed it, enriched its vocabulary, and popularised its use. Not only that. They—their poets and prose writers—improved its spirit, substance, and style, and made it one of the richest and most virile languages in the world.

VII. RESOURCES:—Like Pakistan, Osmanistan is primarily an agricultural country, and at present about seventy-five per cent. of its people are directly or indirectly connected with agriculture and its allied industries. The remaining twenty-five per cent. are mostly occupied in trade and commerce, in professions and administration. It has a good soil, which is irrigated both by canals and by wells, and its chief products are wheat, barley, pulse, tobacco, rice, cotton, sugar, and oilseeds.

The mineral and industrial resources of Osmanistan are considerable, though for the most part these are potential rather than actual. They will be exploited only when the Osmans have secured their national existence, and are free to plan their economic life, to develop their natural wealth and to make use of their industrial assets.

VIII. COMMUNICATIONS:—The communications of Osmanistan, which under existing conditions form part of those of the Region, may be described as fairly good. Apart from the metalled roads, which are fit for motor and other vehicular traffic, the country is served by three Railway Systems, at present known as the Nizam's Guaranteed, the Madras and Southern Marhatta, and the South Indian. These three Railways carry most of its passengers as well as goods traffic, and connect it with other countries of the Continent of Dinia.

IX. OSMANISTAN AND THE PAK COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS:—Osmanistan is one of the ten countries of the Millat which are now rising in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which are resolved to give effect to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. That is, the Commonwealth which has been the age-long dream of the 100,000,000 Muslims in the Continent, and which is destined to translate into reality their Pan-Islamic ideals and to direct their nations to the final achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her mission throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

The Osmans are as devoted to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations as any other nation of the Millat in Dinia. This is quite natural. The devotion of all springs from the fundamentals of their Faith, is steeled by the teachings of their history, and is sharpened by their understanding of the immediate as well as the ultimate responsibilities of Muslims in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

They are all aware of the fact that only in the capacity of equal members of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations can they achieve their ideals. This is so because here they will be free, yet bound to the Millat through the Commonwealth for the service of the Faith and Fraternity in the world. Secondly, they will be sovereign, yet allied to the other nations of the Millat for the security of one another. Finally, they will be independent, yet inspired to establish in their countries that Brotherhood of Man which is the priceless and supreme gift of Islam to humanity.

X. OSMANISTAN AND THE CONTINENT OF DINIA:—It is obvious that owing to its geographical situation and strategic position, Osmanistan will be one of the most important countries of the Continent of Dinia. Not only that. The remarkable record of its people in history and their passionate ambition to add to that record make it certain that their Fatherland will play a distinguished role in the future development of the Continent.

That this is by no means an overdrawn picture is shown by the effect of the very existence of Osmanistan on the future of all other countries of the Continent.

To begin with, the existence of Osmanistan will be a lasting contribution towards ending the age-old conflict among the nations of Dinia, a conflict which is primarily responsible for their degradation since 1857. Secondly, its work for the betterment of its own people will indirectly help the moral and material well-being of the whole Continent. And, finally, the security of its people against exploitation by the Anglo-Caste Hindoo Alliance will leave them free to devote themselves to the cause of the peace, progress, and prosperity of Mankind.

XI. OSMANISTAN AND THE CULTURAL ORBIT OF PAKASIA:—It is an historical fact that at least a part of the core and content of the cultural heritage of Pakasia is the gift of the Osmans. Indeed few nations have done more than they have to create that culture, to infuse into it its charm, humanism, and vigour; and to make it the common heritage of all nations of Pakasia.

In view of that, it is certain that the Osmans, who are as proud of this achievement as of the empires and kingdoms won by their forefathers, will ever be found in the van of the nations working to ensure the supremacy of that culture in the Orbit of Pakasia.

XII. CONCLUSION:—That, in a word, is Osmanistan. Its rise marks an epoch in history. That is, an epoch which will ever be associated with the new dawn of Muslim power, with the twilight of the Anglo-Caste Hindoo hegemony, and with the awakening of all the nations of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It must, therefore, be clear to all men of vision that the rise of Osmanistan signifies a fateful revolution in the affairs of one-fifth of the whole human race living in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. Not only that. It means a revolution the repercussions of which will be felt far beyond the frontiers of Dinia—in Asia as well as over the rest of the globe. And no wonder. For in Osmanistan is born again a nation worthy of its great past, confident of its bright future, and blessed by Allah and His Rasool to serve Islam in the world.

In this knowledge, let the world salute Osmanistan, wish it success in its noble struggle, and welcome it into the Comity of Nations, which needs it for the good of Mankind.

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SAFIISTAN

The Fatherland of the Saf Nation

The Safiistan National Movement,
16, Montague Road, Cambridge.

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To

The Immortal and Inspiring Memory

of

THE MUJAHIDS

who

In heroic devotion to the sacred cause of Islam

Laid down their lives and thereby laid the foundations

Of the mighty heritage of the MILLAT

In the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies—

A heritage which

THE SAFIISTAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

is pledged

Before ALLAH and HIS RASOOL

To protect and perpetuate in Safiistan

As in the other lands and islands of Continent.

PREFACE

The appearance of a new country in the world is a matter of profound interest to mankind. And to satisfy and sustain that interest is the first duty of the founder of the cause of that country.

To discharge that duty I have prepared this booklet, the aim of which is to introduce Safiistan to the world and also to explain the reasons of its demand for recognition as a sovereign country in Ceylon.

I trust the booklet will fulfil that aim, promote true understanding of the justice of the National Cause of the Safs, and serve as a final warning to the British-Buddh Alliance that no solution of the Buddh-Muslim problem can be and will be acceptable to the Safs, unless it guarantees the sovereign national status of Safiistan and of all other countries of the Millat in the Orbit of Pakasia.

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16, Montague Road,
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ENGLAND.
16th September, 1946.

SAFIISTAN

The Fatherland of the Saf Nation

Safiistan is the land of the Safs—the Muslim nation at present living mixed with the Buddhs in the historic Island of Ceylon, to which are attached the Ameen Islands. That is, the Islands which have been the famous centres of Muslim power throughout the ages, and which are destined to remain so far [*sic.*] for all time to come.

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS:—To understand and appreciate its true significance, the reader must clearly grasp the following fundamental facts about Safiistan:—

First, in terms of nationalism, it symbolises, on the one hand, the absolute rejection by Muslims of their present position in Ceylon and the Ameen Islands; and, on the other, their irrevocable decision to integrate themselves as a separate sovereign nation in the Ameen Islands and that part of Ceylon to which by all standards of justice and equity they are entitled according to their numbers in the population.

Secondly, in terms of democracy, it means the practical exercise by Muslims of their elementary right of self-determination. That is, the right to establish which thousands of their own men laid down their lives on the battlefields of Europe, Asia, and Africa in the two World Wars, which are claimed to have been fought to secure the existence and integrity of all nations in the world.

Thirdly, in terms of internationalism, it embodies a solemn

declaration by Muslims of their wish and will to "live and let live." That this is so is clear from the fact that, if the declaration is accepted by others in the spirit in which it is made by Muslims, it would lead not only to Muslim national revival and re-organisation in Western Ceylon and the Ameen Islands, but also to the crystallization and consolidation of the whole position of the Buddhs as well as to the foundation of a strong Buddh national state in the rest of the area of Ceylon to which they have a just claim.

Lastly, in terms of supreme truths, it is a summons to the Muslims to attend to the saving call of their destiny—a summons which they will certainly answer in the traditional spirit of absolute dedication. They will do this because in Ceylon, which they have long served, they are threatened with nothing less than national extinction by the forces of Buddhism.

That, in a word, is the core and content of the national cause of Safiistan. Obviously its reasonableness is unquestionable and its appeal to the Muslims irresistible. That is why all freedom-loving people support it, and all Muslims are determined to fight and, if necessary, to die for the formal and full recognition of Safiistan by the Buddhs, by the British, and by the world.

II. NAME:—Although here composed of the letters taken from the names of places in Western Ceylon and the Ameen Islands, "Safi" is an Arabic word meaning "The Chosen"; and its adoption for the Muslim part of Western Ceylon and the Ameen Islands was inspired by considerations of its historical appeal and spiritual inspiration. For, in the history of Islam, "Safi" is one of the most beloved and revered names of *Hazrat Adam*—the father of Mankind and the first prophet of Allah—who lived in Ceylon for two hundred years and whose arrival there is commemorated by Adam's Peak which attracts thousands of Muslim pilgrims from all over the world.

It will therefore be seen that the sources inspiring the name are spiritual and historical, national and territorial; and that the name really stands for the primordial associatons of Islam with the story of Ceylon. That is, the associations which are recorded in history, which are appreciated even by the Buddhs, and which are crying out for recognition in the creation of Safiistan. This because only Safiistan can preserve that heritage which Muslims have won in Western Ceylon by their unparalleled sacrifices in the past twelve centuries; and also can fulfil that hope which they have ever cherished for the liberation and salvation of the

people of Ceylon.

It was this consciousness of the history, heritage, and hope of Muslims which led the present writer to give the name Safiistan to the Fatherland of the Muslims of Western Ceylon and the Ameen Islands; and it is his solemn conviction that the inspiration of this name is pre-ordained to save them from alien hegemony, to ensure their national integrity, and to perpetuate their religious cause in Ceylon.

III. BOUNDARIES:—Safiistan lies in the north-west of Ceylon; and it is bounded on the north by the Palk Strait, on the east and south by Ceylon proper, and on the west by the Safian Sea.

In so far as its precise land-frontiers are concerned, these have not yet been formally demarcated. This is due to the conspiracy of the British-Buddh Alliance against the recognition of Safiistan as against that of Nasaristan.

The Safs have waited for years to see if the Alliance would change its hostile attitude. But it has not done so, nor seems likely to. So now, despairing of any improvement in the policy of the Alliance and remembering the warning of history against leaving frontiers undefined, they are determined to have them demarcated, if possible with the co-operation of the Alliance, but if necessary without it.

IV. AREA:—The total area of Safiistan is about 2,100 square miles.

This area compares favourably with the areas of some of the old, well-established states which have stood the test of time, survived two world wars, and played their part in history. I mean the states such as Luxembourg with its area of 1,000 square miles; and Kuweit with 2,000.

VI. POPULATION:—According to the 1941 census, the population of Safiistan is about 350,000.

This compares with the population of some of the well-known countries and islands of the world. Thus it is more than the population of Transjordan and of Newfoundland; and much more than that of Bhutan.

Those who study social problems know that this number does not mean the limit in the case of the Safs. Indeed it cannot. For even in present circumstances, which are definitely unfavourable to their growth, they are increasing much faster than the non-Muslim nationalities in Ceylon.

And what is more, it is certain that, given the recognition of Safiistan, they will within a century touch the figure of 1,000,000.

VI. LANGUAGE:—Although the vernacular spoken by a great majority of the Safs is Tamil, the national language of Safiistan is Pak, which so far has been known as Urdu. It is also the national literary language of all other nations of the Millat and the *lingua franca* of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

VII. RESOURCES:—Safiistan is primarily an agricultural country, and at present about sixty per cent. of its people are directly or indirectly connected with agriculture and the allied industries. The remaining forty per cent. are mostly occupied in trade and commerce, in professions and administration. It has a good soil, and its chief products are tea, cocoa, coconuts, plumbago, rubber, copra, coir, cardamoms, and cinnamon.

The mineral and industrial resources of Safiistan are considerable, though for the most part these are potential rather than actual. They will be exploited only when the Safs have secured their national existence, and are free to plan their economic life, to develop their natural wealth, and to make use of their industrial assets.

VIII. COMMUNICATIONS:—The communications of Safiistan, which under existing conditions form part of those of Ceylon, may be described as fairly good. Apart from the metalled roads, which are fit for motor and other vehicular traffic, the country is served by the railway system of Ceylon proper.

IX. SAFIISTAN AND THE PAK COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS:—Safiistan is one of the ten countries of the Millat which are now rising in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies, and which are resolved to give effect to the ideal of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations. That is, the Commonwealth which has been the age-long dream of 100,000,000 Muslims, and which is destined to translate into reality their Pan-Islamic ideals and to direct their nations to the final achievement of the sovereign freedom of the Millat and the supreme fulfilment of her mission throughout the Orbit of Pakasia.

The Safs are as devoted to the ideal of the Pak Commonwelath of Nations as any other nation of the Millat in Dinia. This is natural. The devotion of all springs from the fundamentals of their Faith, is steeled by the teachings of their history, and is sharpened by their understanding of the immediate as well as the ultimate responsibilities of Muslims in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

They are all aware of the fact that only in the capacity of equal members of the Pak Commonwealth of Nations can they achieve their ideals. This is so because here, although bound to the Millat through the Commonwealth for the service of the Faith and Fraternity in the world, they will be free. Secondly, although allied to the other nations of the Millat for the security of one another, they will be sovereign. Finally, although expected to establish in their countries that Brotherhood of Man which is the priceless and supreme gift of Islam to humanity, they will be independent.

X. SAFIISTAN AND THE CONTINENT OF DINIA:—It is obvious that owing to its geographical situation and strategic position Safiistan will be one of the most important countries of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. Not only that. The remarkable record of its people in history and their passionate ambition to add to that record make it certain that their Fatherland will play a distinguished role in the future development of Pakasia.

That this is by no means an overdrawn picture is shown by the effect of the very existence of Safiistan on the future of all other countries of Pakasia.

To begin with, the existence of Safiistan will be a lasting contribution towards ending the age-old conflict among the communities of Ceylon, a conflict which is primarily responsible for their degradation. Secondly, its work for the betterment of its own people will indirectly help the moral and material well-being of the whole of Ceylon. And, finally, the security of its people against exploitation by the British-Buddh Alliance will leave them free to devote themselves to the cause of the peace, progress, and prosperity of Mankind.

XI. SAFIISTAN AND THE CULTURAL ORBIT OF PAKASIA:—It is an historical fact that at least a part of the core and content of the cultural heritage of Pakasia is the gift of the Safs. Indeed few nations have done more than they have to create that culture, to infuse into it its charm, humanism, and vigour; and to make it the common heritage of all nations of Pakasia.

In view of that, it is certain that the Safs, who are as proud of this achievement as of the empires and kingdoms won by their forefathers, will ever be found in the van of the nations working to ensure the supremacy of that culture in the Orbit of Pakasia.

XII. CONCLUSION:—That, in a word, is Safiistan whose rise marks an epoch in history. That is, an epoch which will ever be associated with the new dawn of Muslim power, with the twilight of the British-Buddh hegemony, and with the awakening of all the nations of the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies.

It must, therefore, be clear to all men of vision that the rise of Safiistan signifies a fateful revolution in the affairs of the one-fifth of the whole human race living in the Continent of Dinia and its Dependencies. Not only that. It means a revolution the repercussions of which will be felt far beyond the frontiers of Dinia—in Asia as well as over the rest of the globe. And no wonder. For in Safiistan is born again a nation worthy of its great past, confident of its bright future, and blessed by Allah and His Rasool to serve Islam in the world.

In this knowledge, let the world salute Safiistan, wish it success in its noble struggle, and welcome it into the Comity of Nations, which needs it for the good of Mankind.